

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: A CASE STUDY IN CAPITALISM AND
MIGRATION IN THE CENTRAL AZORES

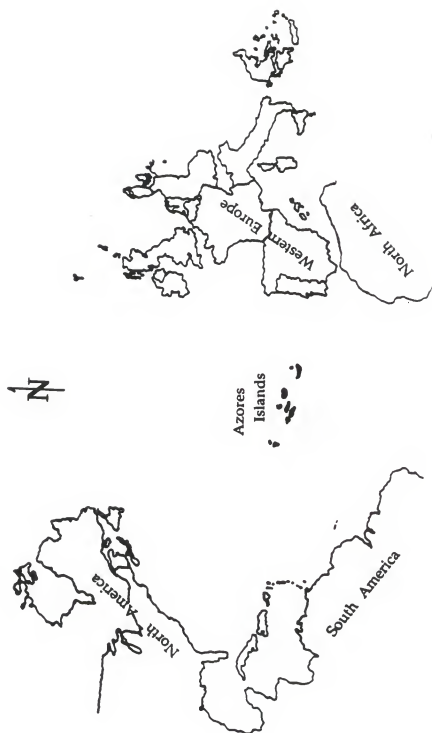
By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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The Azores Islands

Source: Adapted from F. Pereira, (1982).

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I alone am accountable for any errors that this dissertation may contain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	ix
CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
The Azores	7
The Islands Today	13
Migration History	18
2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	26
Periodization	31
Analytical Framework	37
3 PORTUGAL' S AGRICULTURAL CRISIS AND LABOR MIGRATION, 1300-1425	73
Portugal in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	83
European Feudalism	99
4 THE COLONIZATION OF THE AZORES: THE ORIGINS OF A WAY OF LIFE	106
The Atlantic Islands	108
Circulatory Theory and the Productive Dialog	129
5 THE INTRODUCTION OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM: THE SETTLEMENT OF THE AZORES	134
Economic Expansion and Environmental Contingencies	139
Colonial Enterprise	144

6	THE COMMODITIES: THE CYCLICAL NATURE OF THE AZOREAN ECONOMY, 1443-1700.....	169
	Wheat.....	172
	Pastel.....	182
	Corn.....	194
	Seventeenth Century Migration.....	196
7	THE TRANSITION FROM OLD WORLD DEPENDENCY TO NEW WORLD GROWTH,	
	1700-1925.....	201
	Portuguese Empire in the Eighteenth Century.....	205
	The Azores in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.....	210
	The Twin Economies of Pico and Faial.....	217
	Whaling and the Ethnic Factor.....	226
	Migrant Labor to the United States.....	234
8	THE PORTUGUESE STATE AND MIGRATION, 1926-1976.....	238
	The State.....	243
	Salazar and Corporativism.....	248
	Migration to Canada.....	252
	Migration to the United States.....	255
	The State and Remittances.....	260
9	CULTURAL EXPRESSION IN THE AZORES.....	267
	The Concept of Culture.....	270
	The Genesis of a Migrant Culture.....	289
10	THE ESPÍRITO SANTO AND COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY.....	307
	An Egalitarian Identity.....	309
	The Historical Development of the Espírito Santo.....	312
	The Espírito Santo and Outmigration.....	316
	The Change in Musical Tradition.....	318
	The Espírito Santo in Transition.....	322
11	EUROPEAN ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE, 1976-1988.....	334
	The European Economic Community.....	335
	Azorean Development.....	338

12	MODERNIZATION AND THE PEASANT ECONOMY.....	366
	Social Change and Development.....	371
13	THE DREAM IS OVER.....	394
	The Initiation to Commodity Fetishism.....	396
	The Migrant Dilemma	400
APPENDICES		
A	METHODS.....	405
B	CHRONOLOGY.....	415
C	TOBACCO ON THE AZORES.....	417
D	FLEMISH CULTURAL INFLUENCE	421
E	POPULATION.....	424
F	MATANÇA DO PORCO	426
G	THE INCORPORATION OF THE ISLAND SYSTEM.....	430
REFERENCES.....		440
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....		467

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Chairman: Paul Doughty
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This dissertation examines patterns of out-migration from the Azores, Portugal. Using a historical perspective, out-migration from the islands is presented as a phenomenon that must be understood within the larger context of the global economy. It is argued that Azorean labor migration is directly related to commodity specialization on the islands. The collapse of successive island commodities is attributed to the movement of capital, the growth of manufacturing industry, and market expansion to accommodate this growth. On the Azores, out-migration to the Americas became a way of life as the islands were initiated into the world of commodity production. This migration pattern began shortly after the islands were settled and continues to the present.

Three different phases of Azorean labor history are examined: the merchant capital phase (1443-1700) when the islands were incorporated into the European economy through commodity production; the industrial phase (1800-1974) when commodity production declined on the islands and Azoreans migrated to industrial centers in North America; and the present phase of European Economic Integration (1976-1988) when out-migration has come to a temporary halt as a result of regional development.

The economic discussion provides a conceptual framework that is used to examine Azorean culture. Because of the long history of labor migration the Azorean community is spatially separated. Despite this geographical separation, Azoreans who reside in North America and those who have remained behind on the islands share a common cultural identity. This collective identity maintenance is examined within the context of ritual participation. Ritual practise has been transformed as a result of outmigration as Azoreans who return to the islands invest some of their savings in ritual performance. The concluding chapters discuss how the relationship between the migrant community in North America and the Azorean sending community might be undermined as a result of European economic integration.

The study was carried out during fifteen months of field research in 1987/1988 on two different Azorean islands. Data for the study was obtained from archival, quantitative and participant-observation sources.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines migrational patterns to and from the Portuguese archipelago of the Azores. In order to elucidate why for almost four hundred years out-migration has been a constant feature of Azorean life, I have developed a historical framework to attempt to explain the reoccurring cycles of human migrations. While throughout Azorean history there has been a continuous trickle of people leaving the islands, the major demographic movements correspond to boom/bust cycles in the local and national economy; these cycles can in turn be related to larger trends in the global economy. During periods of prosperity and economic growth, people tend to remain on the islands. In times of misfortune and economic decline, people tend to leave, frequently in mass.

The Azores are like a magnetic field with fluctuating poles of attraction drawn between two worlds. The original settlers were from Europe and despite the fact that Azoreans have migrated to and returned from the Americas for three centuries, Azoreans today still seem more culturally European than products of the New World. Economically, during their early development, the islands were commercially tied to the manufacturing centers in northern Europe. Later, the islands sent migrants to Brazil and wine to the plantation economies in the Caribbean and southern United States. Through the export of these commodities the Azorean connection

with the New World was established. Historians like to draw a triangle when they describe trade relations between the New and the Old World. The Azores are in the middle of the Atlantic triangle and the islands were a port of call, as well as a "port of trade", for almost all commercial vessels crossing the mid-Atlantic during the first four hundred years of colonial expansion. In the nineteenth and twentieth century there was large scale migration to North America, and an affinity with the New World grew out of that experience. Today, because of recent efforts to create a true common market in continental Europe, the Azores are being pulled back, both economically and culturally, into the European orbit.

The destination of Azorean migrants has always been the New World. While the archipelago has produced a considerable number of politicians, artists and writers who have made significant contributions nationally, and their impact in certain continental circles cannot be denied, the directional flow of people from the islands has been predominantly to the west. The demographic movement of east to west began with the settling of the islands in the mid-fifteenth century. From the time of colonization until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the primary destination of Azorean migrants was Brazil. Lesser numbers went to the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia, but these were mainly military conscripts and merchants. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the majority of Azorean migrants have gone to North America.

There are a number of ways to account for this migrational history, and each theory or hypothesis is embedded in its own polemic. There is an ecological and demographic explanation: population growth periodically exceeded the resource potential of the islands and excess population expanded to new environmental frontiers. This is an enticing explanation because the

larger human exoduses do conform to periods when the population exceeded the carrying capacity of the islands. But by itself, this Malthusian framework provides only an elementary explanation for out-migration because the geographical space where the islands are located, while in one way reinforcing the focus on the human/environmental interface, also demarcates the limitations of this approach. The archipelago is bound by natural constraints and would be an ideal example of Robert Carneiro's thesis on environmental and social circumscription. But to go to and from the islands demands the intervention of other agents which are economic and political and not environmental.¹ The environmental model instills a degree of autonomy on the islands, a sense of isolation, which in reality has never existed. So while environmental limitations, geological disturbances and climatic change are important variables, and one must continually refer to their influence, they are not the causal agents that have defined the character of Azorean out-migration.

Another line of reasoning in its most simplistic form attributes migration to individual motivation: the islands are dull and the potential for upward mobility severely restricted so individuals seek their fortunes in more dynamic areas. There is an attractive logic to this argument as well, for individuals when asked the reasons for migrating do quite often articulate it in cost/benefit terminology. But individual desire notwithstanding, it is difficult to leave the islands simply because one has the personal desire to do so. Except for certain incidences, such as whaling expeditions in the nineteenth century which offered a means of transport to foreign locales for adventurous Azorean youth, opportunities for outmigration have depended

¹ R. Carneiro, "A Theory of the Origin of the State, *Science* (1970), No. 169, 733-738.

on governmental policies and strategies. Azoreans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were in all likelihood individually receptive to resettlement in Brazil, but the ability to do so depended on the Portuguese crown providing transport, procuring homestead land and provisioning households with subsistence essentials and technological implements in the initial year of settlement. Conversely, since the second world war migrational opportunities have been defined by government imperative and the immigration policies of receiving nations such as the United States and Canada.

Migrant labor from the continent as well as the Atlantic Island groups of the Azores and the Madeiras allowed the Portuguese to populate and administer its expanding colonial empire. The Portuguese crown, a pioneer in colonial enterprise and territorial expansion, had sought out new frontiers of resource extraction to enable it to meet its ever increasing trade deficit. To be able to find, transport and administer the removal of commodities from colonial hinterlands required a great deal of human labor. Demographic evidence for fifteenth century Portugal reveals a scarcity of labor on the Portuguese mainland and the Portuguese strategy of reinforcing this labor shortage through slavery has been well-documented. But the Portuguese crown also deployed labor in another manner. Migrant labor, ostensibly free, became an important resource for the Portuguese state. Through the course of Portuguese history migrant labor has become a commodity that could be traded, in a similar way as natural and manufactured commodities, to realize certain national objectives--national economic imperatives that were defined by Portugal's participation in a global economic network.

There are obvious structural overtones to the above argument that need to be clarified. Foremost, the type of global framework described leaves

little room for human consciousness as humans become pieces on a global chessboard who are moved strategically to obtain an economic or political advantage. In this sense the structuralist argument is exceedingly mechanistic. This denial of a peoples' history has produced the most volatile resistance to Immanuel Wallerstein's thesis on a World Capitalist System.² In line with Marxist orthodoxy, social change occurs through the antagonistic interaction of opposing forces or what is commonly referred to as class conflict. If this emphasis is denied, then social change can no longer be attributed to revolutionary elements.³ But an important dimension of the world system approach is that it explores the structural contingencies and obstacles that humans confront in order to make history. As Sidney Mintz writes:

Human beings do create social structures, and do endow events with meaning; but these structures and meanings have historical origins that shape, limit and help to explain such creativity.⁴

Meaning and cultural expression sometimes only become clear if the human symbolic universe is phrased within the context of structural constraints and obstacles. Without the structural reference, the cultural system of a people can be subjected to a variety of interpretations. For example, much of the historical literature that is available in English on the Azores is based on the accounts of British and American travelers who stopped over on the islands. Some of these writers only stayed briefly, as

² I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York, 1974).

³ M. Dobb, "A Reply" in *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, R. Hilton (ed). (New York, 1967), 21-29.

⁴ S. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York, 1985), xxx.

Mark Twain did in 1869, but others stayed on for longer durations, as Captain Boid, an English sea captain, did in 1815. Whether their stay was short or lengthy these writers found little that was positive to say about the Azorean character. The collective opinion of these vagabond authors is thus not a very flattering one to Azoreans. Twain in his first encounter with Azoreans in Horta harbor writes:

A swarm of swarthy, noisy, lying, shoulder-shrugging, gesticulating Portuguese boatmen, with brass rings in their ears and fraud in their hearts, climbed the ship's sides.⁵

A general stereotype of the Azorean has emerged as a consequence of these writings. The Azorean was typically described as uninventive, and along with other Portuguese, basked in the glory of past colonial achievements. Mary Vermette writes that the preoccupation with past accomplishments is a cultural necessity as the past "is about the only glory that has been left them by the other powers."⁶

One of the objectives of this dissertation is to explain how an island people who have been described by many writers as backward and lacking in creativity and ingenuity, do so well economically within the structural constraints of capitalism in the Americas. To accomplish this objective, I feel that it is necessary to present Azorean history within the context of a global framework. I, therefore, examine patterns of commodity circulation and focus on that controversial form of capitalist enterprise known as mercantilism. The depiction of the Portuguese as commodity traders is not new, for many writers agree that this is the manner in which the Portuguese

⁵ M. Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (New York, 1980), 39.

⁶ M. Vermette, *The Image of the Azorean* (Angra do Heroísmo, 1984), 78.

distinguished themselves during the colonial period. Theoretically, however, the Portuguese brand of mercantilism is not usually included in historical analysis in a coherent way.⁷ The large universal histories take as their reference point either the Americas or Great Britain. In the sense that I use Portugal as a referent to begin my discussion of capitalism, the history that follows could be quite accurately perceived as a relativistic endeavor. Portugal, however, did take the lead in colonial enterprise and did, as Marx wrote, provide the catalyst for an "impulse never before known." It would then seem logical to begin with this impulse and to examine it in the context of one of the earliest regions to be colonized. This region is the archipelago of the Azores.

The Azores

The nine islands of the Azores are situated in the mid-Atlantic between 36⁰ south latitude and 39⁰ north latitude. The islands are 768 nautical miles from the eastern most island of Santa Maria (24⁰ longitude) to Lisbon. From the western most island of Flores (31⁰ longitude), it is a distance of 2,113 nautical miles to New York City. The resident population numbers about 250,000, 75% of whom live on the islands of São Miguel and Terceira.

The land mass of the Azores is approximately 2,327 square kilometers. The climate of the islands is temperate and varies at its most extreme from 14⁰ centigrade in the coldest month of January to 25⁰ during the hottest month of July. The islands are warmed by the gulf current and experience high levels of humidity during the summer months. The high summer humidity turns the temperate region into an almost semi-tropical zone for

⁷ The obvious exception is the work of Immanuel Wallerstein, (1974).

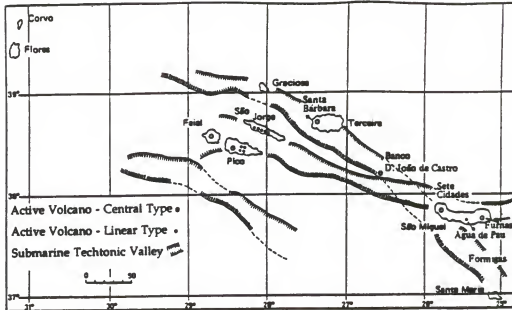
the summer growing season. In the summer the Azoreans plant beans and corn, as well as a leafy cabbage they call *couves*. During the winter, as the temperature falls and the gulf presence declines, the islanders cultivate the more temperate crops of onions and potatoes.

The Azores are of volcanic origin and the major phase of shield activity (volcanic activity responsible for the basement phase of island formation) has been dated for the late Miocene or early Pliocene about 5.2 to 4.6 million years ago.⁸ Situated in the central crest of the Atlantic, the Azores are located in an area of intense volcanic and seismic activity.⁹ The islands are a physical testimonial to their origin, for even though the vegetation has been replaced a number of times through human intervention, the numerous caldeiras, lava fences, black sand and eroded rock deposits provide a living example of the tumultuous evolutionary forces responsible for the islands' emersion from the sea. Volcanic activity on the islands over the last five hundred years of human settlement has been consistent and the lives of the Azoreans have to a degree been conditioned by this seismic history. The huge walls of the traditional Azorean house are on average a meter in diameter, and their function is no doubt related to the islands' geological reality. But to what extent, volcanic activity has shaped the larger course of Azorean history remains to be explored.

⁸ G. Feraud et al., "New K-Ar ages, Chemical Analysis and Magnetic Data of Rocks," *Arquipelago*, No. 5. (1984).

⁹ J. Cunha et al., *A Agricultura Açoriana*, (Lisbon, 1970).

Figure 1.1



The Portuguese Atlantic Region

Source: Adapted from DREPA, (1984).

Since antiquity the Azores have been enveloped in controversy.

Whether they existed at all and what their exact location was preoccupied royal courts and cartographers alike, well before the "voyages of discovery." Plato, in *Chrythias*, wrote about them suspecting that somewhere in the mid-Atlantic lay the clue to the lost continent of Atlantis. A certain mythology and romanticism was evoked conjecturally, for supposedly through the Azores one would find the elusive gateway to the exotic riches of the far east. The Azores appear as early as the thirteenth century on a number of maps: a map dated 1339 names three of the islands--*Saint-Brandan*, *Primaria sive puellarum* and *Capracia Canaria*; another dated 1351, currently found in the "*Biblioteca Laurencia de Florenca*" in Italy, lists the existence of seven islands.¹⁰ There are numerous other "pre-exploration" cartographic

¹⁰ *Arquivo Dos Açores*, Vol. X, 279.

references but it was not until the "official discovery" in 1427 by an Algarvian sea pilot, Diogo de Silves, that there was documented recognition.

Some historians now argue that the Portuguese were well versed in the currents and the trade winds that dictated travel in the mid-Atlantic and knew of the existence of the Azores and the Americas well before Columbus landed in the West Indies in 1492. From the Portuguese perspective there were many voyages of discovery, kept secret by the Portuguese crown, to protect their monopoly over the sea lanes to the vast riches that these could bring home.¹¹

Christopher Columbus stopped in Santa Maria on his return voyage from Santo Domingo in the West Indies. Columbus thought he was returning from Japan and many now suspect he was conveniently misled by Dom João II, the Portuguese King at the time. After all, Columbus did seek counsel from the Portuguese court, and how else would he have understood the pertinent latitudes of Atlantic travel otherwise? It was known that to travel west, one set out from the more southern latitudes of the Canaries; the North-east trade winds take you across the Atlantic. The Westerlies in the latitude of the Azores bring one back. The intimate knowledge of the Portuguese reputedly came from covert and unreported voyages to *terra nova*. The official credit went to others, the court of Castille de Aragon, and to the Genoese weaver, Christopher Columbus, who through a combination of his own ignorance and the advice of Portuguese science mistook the "American landscapes" for the "marble temples of Cathay"¹². But all this is

¹¹ A. Cortesão, *The Myth of Vasco de Gama*, (Lisbon, 1973). Cortesão in this book defends the reputation of his brother, Jamie Cortesão, who was attacked by the Harvard historian, Samuel Eliot Morison, for insisting that the Portuguese sponsored secret voyages to the New World.

¹² A. Cortesão, (1973).

common knowledge for any Portuguese student who has made his or her way through elementary school. It is only the rest of the world that thinks otherwise.

The Azores were, because of their omnipresent and auspicious winds, a key that unlocked the mysteries of the mid-Atlantic. For centuries it was a key that connected the old world with the new. The elements of nature and the necessity of provisioning brought pirates, adventurers and explorers. The first transatlantic cables were installed through the Azores in 1900, a medium that allowed immediate and spontaneous business transactions between nation states on both sides of the ocean. The first trans-Atlantic flights stopped in the Azores for obligatory refueling during the 1920s and 30s. The Lindberghs stopped over in Horta on their exploratory flight for Pan American in 1933. The second world war brought the American military; a presence that has continued to the present. There were many foreign representatives for many years on the Azores. Their former residency on the island of Faial is still evident by the offices and homes that they built to comfort themselves through the windy and rainy winters. These historical architectural achievements stand in stark contrast to the houses of the now "indigenous" settlers who colonized the islands many centuries ago.

The islanders were romanticized for their prodigious labor by Herman Melville who, in *Moby Dick*, wrote that the ships from New England "frequently touch to augment their crews from the hardy peasants of these rocky shores."¹³ This is a common description for the Azorean islanders and this hardworking image has made them favorite migrants. Many have left, some return to stay, others to visit, but even long-term "immigrants" retain

¹³ H. Melville, *Moby Dick*, (New York, 1980), 127.

some aspect of the identity that some would say is typically Azorean; a part of Europe through colonial heritage but a part of the Americas through their experience as a migrant labor force.

A sign of this disparate and dichotomous history is that today, in contrast to more glorious days, the Azores are difficult to find on modern maps. Bentley Duncan writes that where once the Azores were prominently displayed by cartographers they today appear as no more than pinheads.¹⁴ World maps no longer conveniently fit on one page and there is a tendency to separate Europe and America by pages. It is between these pages that the explanations for Azorean cultural history can be found. Pioneers from the old they became the "immigrants" to the new. For that matter they have always been migrants. The Azoreans were better understood when the world was presumed flat and they were on its maps, than when it became round and they slowly disappeared from sight. Despite this recent obscurity, the Azores are still a global experience, for all the forces at play in the contemporary world are visible there. In essence, the Azores are representatives of the demographic phenomenon of population shuffling--a migratory society whose journeys have taken them in significant numbers to Angola, Mozambique, Brazil, the United States and Canada. And why? All because they are "hardy peasants"?

The reasons for these journeys remain unclear. There have been environmental problems. The Azores are a tectonic center for volcanic, seismic and other geological movements and the Azorean people have had to adjust to these subterranean disturbances. They happen frequently and many have left the islands after their lives, houses and livelihood have been

¹⁴ B. Duncan, *Atlantic Islands*, (Chicago, 1972), 2.

destroyed by them. But is this the reason for the migrations? It might lend itself as a possibility if people did not leave at other times as well. Yet, it is an effect that must be considered. Vitorino Nemesio, an Azorean poet, writes that "Geography, for us, means the same as history and it is not without reason that our written records register fifty percent of earthquakes and high tides." But as with the maps these events seldom make their way into almanacs or other collections that list the tragedies of our times. Their minor significance may be because the loss of life is never high and media and catastrophic records seem to indulge themselves in numbers of fatalities.

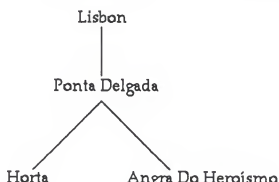
Aside from the romanticism, the legacy and the mythology that inspires certain writers to mention the Azores these days, there is little apparent interest in the islands. As with the "Lost Continent of Atlantis", the Azores have again been lost. Ask anyone where they are. They are not like other places where people can at least pinpoint the continent. After a recent air crash on Santa Maria, much of the media in the United States placed the Azores off the west coast of Africa. The Azores bring about bewilderment because they are "betwixt and between" with no adequate geographical reference point for people nowadays. But at one time, through the voyages, communications lines and the always precarious trans-Atlantic flights, many in America and Europe knew of the Azores.

The Islands Today

The Azores up until the April, 1974 revolution were officially referred to as the "adjacent islands". When Portugal finally broke up what was left of its colonial empire and the African colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea were given their "freedom", some Azoreans as well advocated independence. In 1976, political autonomy through the recognition of the

islands as the Autonomous Region of the Azores (R. A. A.) was granted by Lisbon. But the political categories of adjacent and autonomous obscure the Azores' real relationship with the outside world. There is a chain of economic linkages that connects the Azores to Lisbon and through this metropolis the connection is extended to international economic interests. Within the island system itself, there is an inter-island dependency that mirrors the Azores relationship with the external sphere. Political and economic disparities between the islands may not be as apparent to outsiders today as they were during the Salazarian regime, but they are still the subject of local concern.

Power is divided politically among the three districts of Ponta Delgada (São Miguel), Angra do Heroísmo (Terceira) and Horta (Faial). While the actual island political contribution to national policy decisions related to the Azores is to a large extent symbolic, local politicians and groups located in these centers derive economic benefits from these administrative divisions. Even though the assembly convenes in Horta, the President lives in Ponta Delgada. A hierarchy of political and economic relationships thus exists.



Geographically the islands are grouped as the eastern (Santa Maria and São Miguel), central (Faial, Pico, Graciosa, Terceira and São Jorge) and the

western (Flores and Corvo) islands. Each of above political administrative districts includes a number of islands:

<u>Ponta Delgada</u>	<u>Angra do Heroísmo</u>	<u>Horta</u>
São Miguel	Terceira	Faial
Santa Maria	Graciosa	Pico
	São Jorge	Flores
		Corvo

Since the 1974 revolution, the economic situation in the Azores has improved considerably. The Azores were extremely isolated during the Salazar period and both production for the market and the consumption of imported commodities have increased dramatically since the revolution. Prior to the 1974 revolution, consumption levels were higher than productive output but the trade balance was maintained largely through the receipt of migrant remittances. Exports were higher in 1984 than they were in 1975, but this increase in productive capacity is deceptive. Cattle and cheese are important exports from the Azores and the increase in the export of these commodities is related to European Economic Community (EEC) integration. Cattle raising is partially subsidized by the EEC and this has increased the profit margin of the producer and encourages Azoreans to raise livestock. Conversely, imports are largely paid for by other subsidies that the islands receive from the EEC. Much of the imports are luxury goods such as televisions, videocassette recorders and appliances. Families in the rural sector are to a large extent self-sufficient and use the income that they obtain to buy the above commodities. Families who have no land and depend solely on wage labor, need to purchase their food in stores or in the city markets. Except for the island of São Miguel there are no mechanisms that encourage the marketing of a surplus, and so little from the rural sector makes its way to

the city shops. To feed people in the urban areas, food is imported from Europe. Almost half of the import commodities currently available in the Azores come from other member nations of the EEC.¹⁵

Historically and economically, relations between the islands are best understood in terms of a dependent satellite system. For example, cattle and sheep raised in Santa Maria are transported to São Miguel from where they are transshipped to Lisbon. Manufactures and other imported commodities arrive first in Ponta Delgada by freighter and then are shipped to Santa Maria by smaller boat. Likewise, Flores serves as a redistribution point for Corvo; Faial for Pico; Terceira for Graciosa; and both Faial and Terceira for São Jorge. Today, one can point to the economic benefits derived from these satellite dependencies, but historically the development of these centers of power had as much to do with natural conditions as they did with the consolidation of economic and political power. Before the onset of air travel, the island of Faial would have had a difficult time competing with the much larger island of Terceira for influence in the western islands if it did not have a natural harbor.

To understand the Azores today the historical antecedents that have played such a major role in defining the islands' current socio-economic position vis-à-vis the modern world need to be investigated. The Azores were one of the first Portuguese colonial frontiers and the cultural and economic universe of the islands has to be phrased in relation to European expansion. The Atlantic Islands were, however, more than an extension of European geographical space. The economic system, the social institutions and the cultural cosmology of the archipelago had their roots in the old world

¹⁵ Serviço Regional De Estatística, *Anuário Estatístico Açores, 1980-81*.

but they were elaborated on and defined through the process of capitalist integration.

In this dissertation I maintain that there is a continuity to the phenomenon of Azorean migration. Through a discussion of the historical interaction between the forces of capitalist enterprise and Azorean society an understanding of the world of the modern Azorean can be reached. The world of the Azorean today, as it was in the past, is haunted by the specter of migration. Periodically, economic life is activated on the islands and during these periods migration slows down considerably. But these boom periods inevitably come to an end and the process of migration begins anew.

What I am suggesting here is a historical pattern that has been economically defined but permeates all aspects of Azorean society. To describe the Azores is thus to describe a migrant society. But in the case of the Azores to focus singularly on the human migrations obscures the reality that everything that is found on the islands today is a product of migration. This dissertation then goes beyond what one would typically find in a study of migration for it also examines the changes in social institutions and the interchange of ideas that result from long-term migration.

I begin this work by detailing the processes that stimulated the historical march west across the Atlantic ocean to the New World and I end with a discussion of the processes that are drawing the Azores back east to the world where the seminal seeds were sown that led to the human occupation of the islands. In between there lies a time frame of five hundred and fifty years. Just as the islands are physically the remains of subterranean eruptions, they are socially the products of two almost simultaneous economic explosions--colonialism and capitalism. The five hundred and fifty year time frame takes into consideration the societal impact of the expansion

of these two new ways of life and how they affected a remote island group that is today small and insignificant by world standards yet was at one time a pivotal point for the expansion of what is best described as the forces of modernity.

On the surface the islands are an appendage of this larger heritage and can be compared to a tree branch that occasionally withers and almost dies and then turns green again with new injections of life. The socio-economic roots of the tree are in Europe and the Azores are just one of many branches that grew when the tree sought new sunlight. The Azores throughout early modern history were a crucial branch that provided a linkage so other branches could grow. In contrast to these other colonial regions where a new order was many times imposed on existing social structures, in the Azores capitalist relations predominated from the outset as there was no indigenous social system that the colonial powers could exploit to their advantage. The settlers then who arrived in the Azores were faced with the challenge of constructing a new way of life. The social and cultural foundation of this new way of life was taken from European society but it was elaborated on and reinterpreted in light of new economic opportunities.

Migration History

An often neglected point in recent migrational studies is that when people travel from one spatial context to another they bring along social and cultural references which they maintain in the new setting.¹⁶ Because of the negative connotations many social scientists ascribed to the work of Oscar Lewis and his emphasis on the antagonistic imbalance that resulted from the

¹⁶ See P. Doughty, *Huaylas*, (Ithaca, 1968).

clash of traditional and modern ways of life, migration research has become, for the large part, overtly economic.¹⁷ In this study while I have tried to reach a compromise between the economic and social universe of the migrant, it is still productive to provide a general outline as to some of the causal linkages that I believe have historically contributed to outmigration from the Azores.

To begin to answer the question of why Azoreans migrate requires that one examine the question of what brought the people to the islands in the first place. To approach this question, one needs to turn to the social conditions that existed in Portugal prior to the settlement of the Azores. There is general agreement by historians and anthropologists who write on Portugal for this period that Portugal was severely affected by the Black Death in 1348.¹⁸ How the plague contributed to patterns of population movement however is disputed. Eric Wolf maintains that the loss of agricultural labor in Portugal provided at least indirectly a catalyst for the importation of slave labor.¹⁹ Oliveira Marques, on the other hand, argues that the plague stimulated a rural exodus and led to increased urban growth.²⁰ The theoretical implications of these two different interpretations as to what transpired in Portugal between 1350 and 1450 are discussed in Chapter 3. For now it is sufficient to say that population movement for this period is well documented by Portuguese historians and in relation to the Portuguese population one can make three basic statements. 1) There was a rural exodus which reduced agricultural production. 2) There was urban growth and increasing specialization in non-agricultural activity. 3) The Portuguese at

¹⁷ O. Lewis, *La Vida*, (New York, 1966).

¹⁸ A. Frank, *World Accumulation*, (New York, 1978), however, argues that the demographic and productive decline of the fourteenth century began before the Black Death.

¹⁹ E. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History*, (Berkeley, 1982).

²⁰ O. Marques, *História de Portugal*, (Lisbon, 1983), 190.

this time began to embark on the voyages of discovery which required considerable labor. These are well established facts that are not disputed by any Portuguese historian. Therefore, one can reliably follow the movement of people from the rural sector to the urban areas. One can also see increased activity in labor pursuits such as shipbuilding and other marine related enterprise during this period. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Atlantic islands of Madeira and the Azores were discovered and Portuguese settlers colonized these islands. One can thus over a hundred year period reach certain conclusions about both labor movement and what sorts of economic activity this labor was engaged in at this time.

How to explain this labor movement is another problem entirely. Since the Portuguese state to a large extent supported the voyages of discovery and the settling of the Atlantic islands, the researcher needs to examine the role of the state in colonial enterprise and the class structure that characterized Portuguese society. Was the Portuguese state in the fifteenth century merely a royal coalition that represented the interests of a fragmented feudal order? Or had something transpired to change the character of the Portuguese state? In the discussion of feudalism in Portugal in Chapter 3, I address this question in relation to the Portuguese trade deficit. My argument is that the loss of population following the Black Death contributed to the decline in power of the feudal gentry. Over a period of one hundred years, the state apparatus, slowly began to support the interests of a merchant class that was comprised of both indigenous and foreign membership. The logistical support the Portuguese state provided this class is empirically substantiated through an examination of productive activity on the Atlantic Islands. All the crops that were introduced on the islands were related to a specific goal--the reduction of the trade deficit. A merchant class mediated the

movement of these goods and became influential in the socio-economic affairs of the state.

Through an examination of trade data, one sees economic linkages between Portugal and northern Europe that began during the middle ages. One can, before the plague, describe these linkages as feudal polities trading with each other and the medium in these exchanges were foreign merchants. The commodities traded from Portugal were for the most part agricultural products. Following the Black Death there was a decline in agricultural activity in Portugal and a trade deficit between Portugal and other polities in the European arena becomes evident. The trade deficit according to Marques appeared soon after the Black Death²¹, so one can point to a relationship between population loss, the decline in agricultural activity and the appearance of the trade deficit.

At this point the researcher can assume that all these events which occur almost concurrently in Portuguese history are somehow related and proceed from this point, as I do in the following chapters, or one can look for other causal agents to explain Portuguese colonial expansion. Both Chapters 3 and 4 examine the historical evidence for Portuguese colonial expansion and the theoretical frameworks that attempt to account for this expansion. In essence, I examine the relationship between population movement and the spiraling Portuguese trade deficit. The selection of data related to these two processes are not coincidental for if there have been two constants throughout Portuguese history it has been the almost constant trade deficit and the continuous migration of the Portuguese people. An examination of the relationship between the above two phenomena is facilitated by the

²¹ O. Marques, *History of Portugal*, (New York, 1976), 112.

availability of data to document migratory patterns and the flow of resources, both from Portugal and her colonies, to pay the trade deficit.²² These commodities are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The migrational pattern from the Azores shifts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the New World. Azorean labor in the nineteenth century began to migrate almost exclusively to North America although lesser numbers went to the Bahamas and Hawaii. In contrast to the previous period of Azorean migration to Brazil where the Portuguese state actively intervened to promote labor migration to exploit new colonial frontiers, the migrations in the nineteenth century were a part of a pansouthern European phenomenon. In one way, nineteenth century migration followed the same pattern as that established in the seventeenth century in that one can attribute the same causal mechanisms for the movement. The Azorean economy was in disarray because of the blights that had destroyed the orange and wine export industry in the mid-nineteenth century. One can thus draw a correlation between the decline in commodity production and outmigration. But concentrating specifically on this relationship ignores another important aspect of nineteenth century history; the recruitment of labor by the American government to support industrial growth.²³ It is in this sense that it is imperative that Azorean labor movement be conceptualized within a global framework. By comparing commodity production and population movement one can point to a relationship between the decline in a particular commodity and outmigration. But to explain why the commodity declined one needs to move beyond the state level and examine Portugal's

²² J. Serrão, *A Emigração Portuguesa*, (Lisbon, 1982); S. Sideri, *Trade and Power: Informal Colonialism in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, (Rotterdam, 1970).

²³ See P. Baran and P. Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital*, (New York, 1966), 253.

relationship within the larger market system or the social formation as a whole.

As a result, Azorean migration in the nineteenth century can be perceived as departure from a general pattern if one attempts to assign a rigid causality to the phenomenon. But another pattern emerges when one examines Azorean migration within the context of a general movement of labor from southern Europe to North America. To understand this labor movement it is necessary to outline the labor needs of the receiving nation as well as the causal mechanisms that promoted outmigration from specific regions. In regard to nineteenth century labor migration from Europe one needs to examine the conditions that promoted outmigration on the local level with the emergence of an international division of labor. In the Azores the decline of the commodities created the stimulus for outmigration but the opportunities that opened up for this labor migration are attributable to other factors. Douglass writes of a similar transition for a south Italian town where transatlantic migration shifted from South to North America in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁴ Jane and Peter Schneider discuss the local conditions that prompted migration from Sicily during the nineteenth century and remark that the island could have been the forty-ninth state of the United States because of the high incidence of population movement between the two poles.²⁵

Azorean migration to North America began earlier than that for other parts of southern Europe and one can, in part, understand this earlier movement in relation to geography. The Azoreans were already half way

²⁴ W. Douglass, *Emigration In a South Italian Town*, (New Brunswick, 1984), 94-97.

²⁵ J. Schneider and P. Schneider, *Culture and Political Economy in Western Sicily*, (New York, 1976), 137.

between the Old World and the New and migrants from the islands could be expected to take advantage of any new option for labor migration. The whaling ships that stopped in the Azores in the late seventeenth century also facilitated travel to North America.

In the nineteenth century the laborers who migrated to North America became an important resource for the Portuguese economy. Many of the migrants remitted but others returned to the islands to establish small businesses. During the Republican period the trade deficit grew and the migrant input into the economy became increasingly important.

Twentieth century migration from the Azores is similar in character to nineteenth century migration. Azorean migration stopped in the 1920s when immigration policies were introduced in the United States to curb population flow and it began again after the second world war when the need for labor increased in North America and immigration policies were eased. But while their labor power was actively sought, the social climate that the migrant encountered in the new world was extremely inhospitable. As new migrant groups arrived in the United States each successive group in turn took their place at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy.²⁶ The social isolation of the migrant was perpetuated as they grouped by ethnic origin in urban enclaves. The migrants were offered morsels of the American dream. The American identity that was adopted by Azorean migrants was based on the Protestant work ethic that by hard work one would thrive. The structural obstacles of class and race, however, prevented migrants from climbing the social ladder that was intended as a reward for success in the work place.

²⁶ Baran and Sweezy, (1966), 354.

The cultural identity of the Azorean immigrant was defined in relation to these adverse conditions. Paradoxically, while full status and identity were denied the Azorean migrant in the United States, the cultural identity that the immigrant arrived with was challenged in American academic circles. A favorite topic in Portuguese schools is history and as would be expected this history is based on the work of Portuguese writers. For the typical Portuguese migrant family in the 1950s, the parents would have been instructed in one version of history in Portugal while their children would have been taught another version. The two versions of history would not necessarily be incompatible, from the perspective of mythmaking, if Portuguese children were not being instructed that the history of their parents was wrong.

The maintenance of an Azorean cultural identity, as I argue in the next chapter, must be understood in relation to these policies of exclusion. There are as I mentioned at the beginning of this section a number of dimensions to the migration process. One dimension is economic and it has been economic factors that have drawn Azorean immigrants to the New World. Social factors are, however, equally important for an understanding of the totality of Azorean migration.

In the next chapter I introduce the system of periodization and the theoretical framework that I use in this study to reconstruct Portuguese history and to outline the process of Azorean outmigration.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To undertake a migration history is a difficult task, especially when the study takes into consideration the "causes and consequences" of migration in the sending community as well as the process itself. In order to begin such a project the researcher must establish the field, in both a real and abstract sense, that defines the movements of peoples. For example, what were the agents responsible for this movement? What were the circumstances that impelled people to geographically locate from one locale to another? Is the rationale for this movement constant in that the same causal forces can be attributed through time to this migrational history? Or are these causal incidences displaced at certain historical moments by other incidences? The above questions need to be addressed within the context of a framework that allows the researcher both a means to understand the phenomenon of migration in its totality, and at the same time, the framework must provide a coherent means to conceptualize variation in population movement at specific historical junctures.

First, the historical interlude needs to be defined. The anthropological study differs in this regard from the traditional historical approach where many times the study unit is defined in relation to a rigid periodization. Anthropology in both its early and more recent flirtation with history has as its objective the uncovering of general principles that can only be illuminated

through an examination of a continuous history.¹ To interrupt the historical flow by focusing on patterns that pertain only to brief moments and certain incidents has never been the objective of anthropology, although recent attempts to incorporate history into anthropology have led to the adoption of many of the periodization techniques that historians employ.² There is good reason for the above focus on the historical moment rather than the totality. Historical studies are limited by the availability of information and successive historical periods are difficult to link conceptually because the nature of the data base changes. A good example, that both Caroline Brettell and William Douglass have noted for Europe, is that historical research many times proceeds from the time available information such as parish records begin.³ To move further back in historical time to periods when there is no data base that is complete and accessible thus involves the movement from an established documented data base to conjectural interpretation. Immanuel Wallerstein writes that:

1 In anthropology this tradition is represented through the work of Julian Steward, *Theory of Culture Change*, (Urbana, 1955); Leslie White, *The Evolution of Culture*, (New York, 1959); and V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History*, (New York, 1946).

2 J. Goody, *Production and Reproduction* (Cambridge, 1976), discusses the differences between anthropological studies on long term change and the recent emphasis on highly specific empirical studies and the implications of these two approaches for anthropological inquiry.

3 C. Brettell in , *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait*, (Princeton, 1986), 269, explains that in the northern Portuguese parish that she studied the format of the register entries changed markedly from 1700 to the present. W. Douglass in, *Emigration in a South Italian Town*, (New Brunswick, 1984), xiii, outlines some of the problems that befall anthropologists doing historical research in Europe.

It is a major tragedy of twentieth-century social science that so large a proportion of social scientists, facing this dilemma, have thrown in the sponge. Historical data seemed to them vague and crude, hence unreliable. They felt that there was little to be done about it, and hence that it was best to avoid using it. And the best way not to use it was to formulate problems in such a way that its use was not indicated.⁴

In this work I have adopted a longitudinal framework for the discussion of Azorean migration. There are both limitations and benefits to this type of an approach. The limitations are that synchronic data that are specific to certain historical incidences need to be incorporated into a continuous historical flow so that the process of outmigration from the Azores can be discerned in its totality. This problem has been well outlined in anthropology through the debate between Leslie White and Julian Steward in relation to the differences between general evolution and multilineal evolution.⁵ The process that I describe in this work is however related to history and not evolution and so some of the problems that have plagued evolutionists in their attempt to accommodate historical facts are avoided because I look for the underlying logic of migration in history rather than the life process itself. The connection that I draw then between certain historical time periods and the general process of outmigration is based on specific historical connections that are fused together to address the overall characteristics of Portuguese population movement. Before I address the conceptual rationale for linking these specific historical periods it is necessary to outline the criteria that I use to distinguish between different periods.

⁴ Wallerstein (1974), 8.

⁵ J. Steward, (1955); L. White, (1959). M. Sahlins and E. Service, *Evolution and Culture* (Ann Arbor, 1960) offer a methodology that synthesizes general and specific evolution.

In order to unite a global history with particularistic societal data I refer to three distinct phases of capitalist development on the larger level and examine how these correspond to specific historical periods on the societal level. The first phase of capitalist development I examine is the era of merchant capital. It was during this phase of capitalist development that the Azores were settled and the intermittent pattern of commodity production and outmigration was established. The second phase of capitalist development is the era of industrial capital. While the Azores, primarily because of their geographical locale, were well integrated with the processes of the expansion of merchant capital, the islands, as was Portugal, were peripheral to the growth of industrial capital. There have been various theories forwarded as to why capitalist enterprise did not move from the merchant to the industrial phase in Portugal and I discuss these arguments in Chapter 3. To briefly summarize, the position I take is as follows: During the phase of merchant capital the economic relationships that would in the future define core and peripheral zones within the European arena were established. Portugal's effectiveness as an economic actor had been undermined during the merchant phase because of a heavy reliance on trade specialization which impeded the transition from primitive to capital accumulation. Portugal was thus a transfer zone through which commodities from colonial territories moved to the manufacturing zones of northern Europe. Even though productive relations in Portugal were not transformed directly during the industrial phase, Portugal nevertheless participated in the development of industrial capital in another way. In the nineteenth century, during the twilight years of Portuguese colonial empire, migrant labor from Portugal journeyed to the industrial regions. This pattern of labor migration from Portugal to the industrial regions was almost continuous from the

nineteenth century to the present. The major rupture in this migratory pattern was from the depression years to immediately after the second world war when the demand for migrant labor in the industrial centers declined.

The phase that followed the development of industrial capital has been described in a number of ways. Lenin saw in the class formation that grew out of the development of industrial capital the beginnings of an imperialistic world order that could only be destroyed through global revolution.⁶ Baran and Sweezy define the post-industrial period as the era of "monopoly capital" and they see in this period the emergence of a market system that is dominated by specific class interests in the developed countries and profits are derived to reinforce these monopolies through the exploitation of an international division of labor.⁷ Recently, in order to move beyond a purely economic analysis of capitalism some theorists have begun to refer to this latter period of capitalist development as the "post-modernist period." Of particular interest to these theorists is the symbolic manner in which capitalism imbeds itself in the cultural cosmology of both exploited classes in the developed countries and those who reside in the "Third World."⁸

The distinct phases of capitalist development that I examine then from an economic perspective are merchant capital and industrial capital. To understand how capitalist relations have encroached on societal values and cultural definition I have adopted the framework of the post-modernists. The above approaches to a study of the development of capitalist relations are not mutually exclusive; the study of economics and social and cultural

⁶ V. Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, (New York, 1982).

⁷ Baran and Sweezy, (1966).

⁸ J. F. Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, (Minneapolis, 1988), refers to the postmodern period as the cultural period that followed the development of industrial capital.

relations simply focus on different aspects of the same process. To talk of one then is not to deny the significance of the other.

Each of the above phases of capitalist development has different implications for the study of socio-economic relations on the Azores. The study of the impact of merchant and industrial capital elucidates the economic linkages that tie the Azores to the larger world. The study of the social and cultural dimensions of capitalist expansion provides a more holistic picture as to how capitalist development impacts on a human level in underdeveloped regions. I maintain that while the process of capitalist incorporation has a divisive and atomistic effect on societal relations which on the Azores is demonstrated most profoundly through the spatial relocation of a sizeable percentage of the island population to industrial zones, a common social and cultural connection is retained by those who have left the islands to work and those who have remained behind. As I argue in Chapters 9 and 10, this cultural unity has a strong economic inference and must be understood within the context of the Azores as an underdeveloped capitalist region.

To gauge how these larger phases manifest themselves on a micro level I have used the following periodization. The study is divided into chronological periods which fall into two parts.

Periodization

The historical periods that I isolate are defined in terms of both population movement and commodity production and are demarcated according to the following periodization. In Part 1, the first period begins with the Black Death in 1348 and ends with the colonization of the Atlantic Islands between 1421 and 1460. This time period marks the economic break

down of the feudal order and the transition to a dependence on merchant capital in Portugal. In relation to the general theme of the essay, during this period agricultural lands were being abandoned in Portugal and the subsequent shortage of trade commodities that resulted from the decline in this sector contributed to the formation of an alliance between the state and a merchant class. Labor that had previously been engaged in agricultural production was diverted to activity that supported the interests of the merchant class.

The second period begins with the settlement of the islands and ends with the second crisis of feudalism in the seventeenth century. The time frame for this period is from 1425 to 1700. During this period there was large scale migration from continental Portugal and this migrant labor was used in a variety of ways by the state to increase profits. Before the discovery of Brazil this labor was used in both a supportive capacity to build and provision ships, and as sailors on the voyages of discovery. Settlers were also encouraged to move to the Atlantic Islands where the Portuguese state with the assistance of Italian and Flemish merchants introduced cash crops such as sugar cane and wheat. Despite the availability of indigenous labor, the Portuguese still experienced severe labor shortages and these shortages contributed to a certain extent to a reliance on slave labor to both increase productive activity in certain colonial regions and as a commodity to be exchanged on the market.

The above two periods are not only historical markers but represent a particular analytical focus. My intention in providing the historical overview on the processes that culminated in the settlement of the islands is to both describe the actual historical detail of colonial expansion and to establish the conceptual framework through which I interpret Azorean history. The

discussion in Chapters 3 through 6 (Part 1) is on a larger level than which follows in the later chapters (Part 2). Specifically, in Part 1, I outline the general characteristics of the Portuguese and Azorean social systems and their place within the emerging market economy. Part I thus focuses on the growth of the influence of merchant capital and its articulation with productive activity on the Azores.

In Part 2, I shift the focus of analysis and my attention turns more specifically to a treatment of local level problems on the Azorean islands of Pico and Faial. The discussion in the latter section is divided into three time periods. The first periodization overlaps to a certain extent with the second time period in Part 1. The first time period I discuss for Faial and Pico thus goes back to the settlement of the islands and ends with the beginning of the world depression in the twentieth century.

There are a number of reasons for not including the history of Faial and Pico in the section on the same time period in Part 2. One criteria is the pattern of trade. There is a transitional sequence between the period that ends after the second crisis of feudalism in the seventeenth century and the beginning of commodity production on Pico and Faial. The commodities of wheat and pastel that are discussed in Chapter 6 moved primarily to the Old World. The evolution of the economies of Faial and Pico, however, depended on the development of trade relations with the New World. Thus, the commodities discussed in Chapter 6 had a New World and not an Old World market. In the case of the Azores, the above periodization also has implications for population movement which I elaborate on in Chapter 8.

In both Chapters 7 and 8 I argue that the pattern of outmigration from the Azores must be conceptualized in a manner that explicates the flow of free labor from Europe to North America during the nineteenth century. In

order to accomplish this task, the historical framework that divides the international division of labor neatly into three periods of colonial incorporation (1492-1930), industrialization (1930-1960) and multinational expansion (1960 to the present) needs to be modified to accommodate nineteenth century migration from southern Europe.⁹ In particular, the role of the state needs to be defined in light of how policies are developed for the recruitment of particular categories of labor and the exclusion of others. The examination of migrant labor from the Azores within the context of a general European pattern offers an opportunity to study how labor was recruited in order to stimulate industrialization in North America. By focusing on how the state regulates the flow of labor, it is possible to explain general migrant cycles from southern Europe to North America.

This type of an approach also allows one to explain the decline in labor movement during the first two decades of the Salazar regime (1926-1974); the next historical period that I define. The pre-war Salazar period is explained in terms of the lack of opportunity for migration because of the world recession which reduced the need for migrant labor flows from southern Europe as a whole. Since there was no opportunity for labor to migrate during this period, productive patterns changed on the Azores and one sees the reconstitution of a peasant way of life. Following the second world war, migration began again from the Azores and the rest of southern Europe to North America and this movement of people altered production patterns on the islands to accommodate the loss of labor.

In chapter 11 I turn to a discussion of the final period under consideration in this study. The focus here is on the period following the

⁹ See C. Wood and J. Carvalho, *The Demography of Inequality in Brazil*, (Cambridge, 1988), 45.

1974 Portuguese revolution. The revolution which brought independence to Portuguese colonial territories also paved the way for integration into the European Economic Community. In Chapters 11 and 12 I examine the changes to the local economy as a result of the influx of EEC capital which has reduced the incentive to migrate. Through a discussion of the local economy one gets an appreciation for the types of conditions that keep people on the islands. One can thus point to the influx of EEC capital as creating another boom period in the Azorean economy. I argue, however, that this period of prosperity will only be temporary because productive activities related to long-term economic growth are not being introduced. By offering local labor opportunities the government has temporarily diffused the circumstances that promote outmigration. In this way, the present boom period can be related to a general pattern in Azorean history where productive activity has periodically been stimulated for short periods and the consequences of this historical pattern has been a cyclical outmigration that conforms to boom/bust cycles in the world market.

In Chapters 11 and 12, I discuss the cultural dimensions of this long history of outmigration. Although I refer to the process of culture building on the islands throughout the work, in these latter chapters I outline the interaction between outmigration and ritual interpretation. I relate the development of Azorean culture to the economic conditions under which the islands were settled and to the emergence of a stratification system in North America that saw Azoreans, as well as other southern European immigrants, recruited for their labor potential but denied social mobility in the new economic context. As a result, Azorean culture is inextricably linked to the long history of migration to and from the islands. In this sense, Azorean culture is the product of diffusion. A cultural heritage accompanied

the initial settlers to the islands but this heritage was reinterpreted by the settlers in light of new social and economic opportunities that opened up with colonial expansion. While migration is typically understood in terms of the movement of people, what is often neglected in research on migrant societies is the interchange of cultural ideas and symbols. Migrants who have gone to the New World to work and returned to the islands have in one way contributed to a certain cultural continuity through ritual participation and in another way they have changed the character of Azorean culture through their economic participation in the ritual process. Changes in the pattern of ritual participation and cultural interpretation can therefore be related to local patterns of labor deployment on the islands but these changes must be cast within the large ocean of the development of the ideology of capitalism.

To understand Azorean migration one must take into account the manner in which the islands were incorporated into the larger world but this process involved more than the periodic expropriation of labor power by external agents. The historical dependence on outmigration has affected the Azorean social system as a whole. To divide this history into components for specific study facilitates the research endeavor as it makes possible systemic inquiry and furthers the interests of what Thomas Kuhn describes as "normal science"; but this division of social reality into discrete compartments is at the same time a violation of history for it assumes by default that certain historical facts can be removed from the societal context for scientific scrutiny. In the next section, I isolate a number of these societal components for the purpose of clarification. The overall objective of the following essays is, however, to basically establish the significance of certain historical trends that I consider essential to an understanding of Azorean history and then rejoin these components with other facets of socio-cultural life.

Analytical Framework

The following discussion is intended as a conceptual map that explains how the different historical periods, theoretical arguments and subject matter are arranged. The arguments I raise are for the most part derived from the materialist tradition in anthropology and the related social sciences. Because my interpretation of this tradition diverges at times from other interpreters of materialism, it is important at the outset to establish the conceptual and analytical parameters of discussion.

Environmental Influences

The argument that I introduce begins at the closing of the middle ages in Portugal. In 1348 the Black Death reduced the Portuguese population by one third and in the fifty years that followed the social structure and the activities of the Portuguese state changed radically. How to explain these changes, which either directly or indirectly culminated in Portuguese colonialism, has confounded numerous writers. In recent years as global history has become more popular a variety of explanations for this expansion have emerged.¹⁰ A common point of departure for all writers is that Europe was in a state of crisis. What the causes of the crisis were and if the crisis in itself triggered social change is open to debate. In traditional Marxist circles, disagreements among writers revolve around the social causes that may have induced change. In many cases, the debates suffer from what Samir Amin refers to as Eurocentrism in that the writers search for causal mechanisms

¹⁰ The topic of environmental influence on the transition to capitalism has been written on generally for Europe by M. Harris, "The Origin of Capitalism," in *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures*, (New York, 1977); A. Jones, *The European Miracle*, (New York, 1982); A. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900*, (London, 1986); I. Wallerstein, (1974) offers the most comprehensive explanation.

within the core countries of Europe and ignore changes on the periphery. Portugal, while geographically situated in Europe, has thus only been given superficial treatment in the larger histories that discuss colonial expansion and the development of capitalism. The question raised here is did changes that occurred on the periphery in Portugal effect changes in the core countries of Europe, or has Portugal's socio-economic status in the world been historically undermined by changes that occurred first in the core countries? Some Portuguese writers maintain that the explanations for Portugal's current state of underdevelopment can be found in the historical period just prior to the voyages of discovery and colonial expansion.¹¹ To answer the above question then it would seem logical to first examine the socio-economic milieu that existed in Portugal before colonial expansion took place.

In order to isolate what I believe to be the causal mechanisms for Portuguese colonial expansion, I examine environmental conditions and demographic patterns to attempt to explain what transpired in Portugal during this period. For a methodological focus I use Marvin Harris's thesis on infrastructural determinism to examine the relationship between ecological and demographic conditions and social structure in Portugal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹² My argument is that a decline in rural labor power following the Black Death led to a deficiency in an agricultural surplus; the above two combined factors forced the Portuguese state to look

11 M. Murteira, *Desenvolvimento, Subdesenvolvimento e o Modelo Português*, (Lisbon, 1979).

12 M. Harris, *Cultural Materialism*, (New York, 1979). Rodney Hilton, "Introduction," *The Brenner Debate* (Cambridge, 1985) divides the Marxist school on the transition into two camps: those who maintain that the transition resulted because of changes in the forces of production; and those who locate change within the social relations of production. For Portugal, I argue it is more productive to examine how changes in the forces of production lead to colonial expansion.

for other economic alternatives. The strategy that the Portuguese chose at this time had short-term benefits but the long-term consequences have been an almost continuous trade deficit that has contributed to Portugal's historical underdevelopment. Harris writes that:

after a society has made a commitment to a particular technological and ecological strategy for solving the problem of declining efficiency, it may not be possible to do anything about the consequences of unintelligent choice for a long time to come.¹³

Clifford Geertz, in documenting how Indonesia responded to economic crisis as a consequence of a reliance on monocropping, reported that as a value of a commodity decreased productive activity intensified.¹⁴ Even though the long term effects of "agricultural involution" would be detrimental ecologically, Indonesia's ecosystem could support agricultural intensification for a short period. The Portuguese, when confronted with crisis, could not employ this strategy, as for the most part, environmental conditions in Portugal are not amenable to this type of an agricultural strategy even on a short term basis. Population decline and environmental limitations are thus critical factors in understanding Portuguese colonial expansion. But by itself an infrastructural explanation is inadequate.

Portugal in the fourteenth century was not an isolated polity and was well integrated into the European economic structure.¹⁵ If Portugal had not been tied into these economic relations the Portuguese crown may have responded differently to the crisis of the fourteenth century. The decision of the Portuguese crown to actively search for resources abroad therefore rested

¹³ M. Harris, (1977), 182.

¹⁴ C. Geertz, *Agricultural Involution*, (Berkeley, 1966).

¹⁵ A. Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média* (Lisbon, 1959).

on a number of factors. One of these factors which I outline in Chapter 3 was infrastructural but another factor was related to economics and the maintenance of the external trade deficit. To understand the significance of the latter factor, Portugal's position within the European economy must be demarcated.

The Social Formation¹⁶

To explain Portugal's relationship within the European arena during the early years of colonial expansion and later its relationship within the context of the expanding global system, the researcher must utilize a unit of abstraction that allows for the systemic examination of the linkages between different productive regions. In this study, the analysis of the global system is based on the work of Immanuel Wallerstein and his construction of the World Capitalist System. Wallerstein, as I argue in Chapter 4, however, does not focus on the relationship between productive activity and trade circulation. To understand how productive activity within the nation-state corresponds to the circulation of resources on the larger international level, one must use a conceptual devise that bridges and connects local production with international trade.

A conceptual tool that allows for the interconnection between production and circulation on various levels is the social formation. The social formation is a constellation of modes of production with one dominant mode and one or more peripheral minor modes; it is a socio-political configuration that is defined by economic interconnectedness.¹⁷ Portugal's

¹⁶ Although Marxists, in general, would argue that these two positions are incongruous, I think it is possible to integrate the two approaches and construct a general theory. What I am proposing is a synthesis, not a syncretic juggling of opposing paradigms.

¹⁷ See R. Heilbroner, *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism*, (New York, 1986), 79. E. Laclau, "Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America," *New Left Review* (1971), 67: 19-38.

relationship with the larger global system can be articulated both conceptually and empirically by examining productive activity within the national domain in relationship to international commitments. The trade deficit between Portugal and Flanders in the fourteenth century created a state of dependency between these two polities where raw materials flowed from Portugal in exchange for manufactured articles from Flanders. The extension of productive activity to the Atlantic Islands in the fifteenth century can be understood in relation to this existing dependency--the inequitable economic dialog can be demonstrated empirically through an examination of the trade deficit and the types of commodities exchanged between Portugal and other European polities. Through the examination of these larger linkages one can trace Portugal's economic relationships with other polities through historical time.

By focusing on the social formation it is also possible to establish the contextual framework for labor migration. Just as raw commodities move from the region of production to the region of transformation, island labor is another commodity that is exported when commodity production on the islands declines. Within this larger framework state strategies that promote labor migration gain conceptual clarity.

The State

The state is the structural apparatus through which productive relations between regions within a given social formation are formalized. The modern state, in one aspect, can be defined as an organizational unit that serves particular class interests within national boundaries. In another way, modern state structures are reinforced by their integration into a larger network--the social formation. In the case of Portugal, the state has played an

important role historically in not only supporting specific class configurations and their articulation with merchant and industrial capital but in providing an organizational basis for the perpetuation of an ideology that reinforces these class interests.

The above definition of the state follows the general Marxian criteria for defining state structures and it is useful on a certain level of analysis. But to understand the specific character of the Portuguese state involves a different type of analytical orientation. While on one hand it is possible throughout Portuguese history to examine how certain classes manipulate the state apparatus to achieve an economic advantage, the leaders of the state in Portugal have never been static stooges and have always been decisive figures in the direction of the economy at particular historical moments. The state in this sense is more than a reflection of the prevailing class structure. From Dom João II in the fifteenth century to the Marquis do Pombal in the eighteenth century to António Oliveira Salazar in the twentieth century, one sees the emergence of charismatic figureheads who make critical decisions in regard to political affairs, ideological direction and economic policy. The decisions reached by these leaders are made within the context of the structural limitations of the larger economy and do usually support a specific class structure, but they also at times have an imaginative flavor that has made the Portuguese state difficult to conceptualize.

Even though the general criteria for the state that I use in this study is derived from the Marxian framework, the specific referent for the state and the historical role it has played in Portugal moves beyond the examination of the state as a structural entity and focuses on how state ideology and national economic policy are the product of both external economic factors and a personalized vision on how to deal with these factors. Robert Heilbroner

describes how nation-states function within a social formation in the following manner:

Thus once again we encounter the tense relation of realms characteristic of the social formation in which capital calls the tune by which the state normally dances but takes for granted that the state will provide the theater within which the performance will take place.¹⁸

Social Class

In order to understand how commodities were transferred from one productive arena to another, it is necessary to employ another unit of abstraction, the social class. A focus on class relations provides the researcher with a device to explain how resources are appropriated and moved within the realm of a social formation. By examining class relations, one is also able to define different types of labor mobilization and deployment throughout Portuguese history.

There are, however, limitations incumbent in a class analysis. Foremost, many Marxist theorists view class conflict as a prime mover or motor that provides the momentum for social change and focus on class relations from this perspective.¹⁹ To follow this line of reasoning is to conceptualize history as a continual struggle between class forces with ostensibly one class displacing another at critical historical junctures. This perspective on class relations has become increasingly problematic for historical research as it often times distorts the social context rather than informs it. For example, William Reddy, in an evaluation of the revisionist interpretation of the French Revolution, argues that there was never a

¹⁸ Heilbroner, (1986), 105.

¹⁹ See R. Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe" in *The Brenner Debate*, (Cambridge, 1985).

capitalist class that challenged the existing feudal order. It is not a question of how powerful or weak this class was and how their role should be interpreted, but that "it has become clear that such a class not only had no representatives in the revolutionary assemblies but in effect did not exist."²⁰ The social scenario in England, prior to the Industrial Revolution, that Reddy describes is also at odds with the traditional Marxist interpretation. To Reddy, "the landowning aristocracy was in itself a capitalist class" and the feudal gentry, individually and as a group, were not adverse to investing in business opportunities.²¹ The changes that occurred prior to the industrial revolution are from this perspective economic and not social.

Reddy's observations on class dynamics in Europe shed light on what transpired in Portugal during the formative years of colonial expansion. Rather than view the dialogue between classes as an ongoing struggle which the historical record does not empirically support, it is more productive to view the social class as an incorporative unit in some cases.²² In this sense, in fifteenth century Portugal the interests of the feudal gentry merged with the interests of merchant capital. The social and ideological composition of this class was syncretic. The feudal gentry adjusted to the new economic conditions by participating in merchant enterprise and merchants began to define themselves socially in relation to the ideological notions of feudalism by purchasing land. The union of feudal lords and merchants was an important force in Portuguese colonial expansion but this union also

²⁰ W. Reddy, *Money and Liberty in Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, 1987), 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²² Reddy, (1987), offers the concept "monetary exchange asymmetry" as a more workable substitute for class. Reddy argues that the concept of class despite its ubiquitous presence in social science jargon is not analytically precise for "class terms, often said by their proponents to be about relationships, are all to frequently used in practise as if they refer to homogeneous aggregates of individuals who have no relations with one another or with anyone else except that of simply being in essence proletarian or bourgeois or aristocratic," 203.

presented a long-term obstacle to the transition from primitive accumulation to capitalist accumulation. This obstacle was not entirely internally generated as the growth of merchant capital in Portugal was restrained by Portugal's participation within the larger system. As a result, "the transition of precapitalist formations integrated into the world system is a transition not to capitalism in general but to "peripheral" capitalism."²³ By examining Portugal's historical dependency in relation to the development of capitalism in Europe generally, one can understand not only Portugal's underdevelopment vis-à-vis other European nations today, but the economic relationship between the Azores and Portugal.²⁴

Merchant capital that controlled production in the manufacturing centers was able to extend to peripheral regions such as the Azores and define the types of productive activities engaged in these regions. The representatives of merchant capital in the peripheral zones were merchants and local lords who together constituted a class that controlled the means of production. As in other colonial regions, the means of production was not land in itself as discoveries by both the Spanish and Portuguese were opening up large land masses for exploitation. A more important resource was labor which on the Azores became a resource that through market devices could be effectively controlled.

In this sense one can speak of a class system on the Azores where a merchant class in collusion with a local gentry totally dominated productive output. It is the relation of this class to the predominant form of capital enterprise at any given historical moment that defines its composition and its

²³ S. Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, (New York, 1974), 35.

²⁴ Murteira, (1979),⁷³ writes that the relationship between capitalist and peripheral capitalist development is not only demarcated between nation states but manifests itself internally within nations..

impact on the productive process. A merchant class was directly aligned with the interests of European market expansion and this class played a mediating role, while realizing substantial profits, in the transference of resources from the Azores to the dominant metropolises.

Between the fifteenth and nineteenth century the representatives of merchant capital are easily identifiable on the Azores. There were Flemish, British, American and Portuguese merchants who purchased commodities from individual producers and provided the vehicles to tranship them from one region to another. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, labor increased in value as a commodity and the agents who mediated the flow of labor from the islands to the growing industrial centers now represented the interests of industrial capital. These agents who appeared on the islands in the guise of whaling captains, labor recruiters and immigration agents did not constitute a class in themselves but were representatives of larger class interests in North America where cheap labor was needed to fuel industrial growth.

There are certain inherent problems, however, with the above usage of class. First, in using class in the way that I do to describe the collective interests of an emergent merchant class and a feudal class whose fortunes were in decline, I do not address the exploitive aspect of class relations. While there are serious limitations in viewing social change as an ongoing dialectical struggle between classes it is also a historical error to deny the huge chasm that exists between those who control capital and those who labor so capital may expand. The gap between those who have and those who have not has also developed historically.

One of the reasons that may be attributed to capitalism's success as a world economic system is its fluidity and its ability to accommodate new

economic interests to achieve growth. Capitalism is not adverse to the participation of new economic actors if they may help to sustain its expansion. But the possible participation of a laboring class in the profits of capitalist enterprise has been blocked historically by those who early on in the development of capitalism consolidated their interests and constructed political and social barriers so that the profits from the labor of many could be hoarded by a privileged few.

To talk of class relations and class analysis then is to address a fundamental contradiction. There is the mystification of participation in the higher order that is so alluring that labor apparently of its own volition lines up to further its own exploitation. The mystification is generated by commodity fetishism where the acquisition of socially valued commodities denotes changes in status which in turn leads to the perception that there are social rewards to be obtained through the sale of one's labor. It is the illusion of potential success that contributes to the growth of capitalist enterprise; for it not only ensures a continuous stream of labor in regions where a market economy prevails but the lure of participation spawns new ideas which open up new areas into which capital may expand. Periodically the hegemonic classes open the gates to admit the successful few and their recruitment is a symbolic gesture to those who still toil beneath them that upward mobility is more than a dream.

I see in the collapse of the feudal order in Portugal then, not a struggle, but a realignment of priorities as the old order recognized their declining fortunes and embarked on a new economic path. The recruitment of new economic actors from the city states of Flanders and Italy created the momentum for Portuguese colonial expansion but also defined Portugal's subservient relationship in the emerging global economy. Social and

economic opportunities opened up with this expansion and the entrepreneurs who comprised the merchant class that took advantage of these opportunities were a heterogeneous group. As the process of incorporation into the global market system intensified, class relations solidified and opportunities for advancement decreased. The Portuguese who began as entrepreneurs in colonial enterprise, and who through the acquisition of sought after commodities helped create a certain momentum for capitalist expansion, were destined to become a commodity in themselves; for as access to marketable goods was curtailed the only saleable good they had to offer was their own labor.

The System

To describe the incorporation of Portugal into a global market economy I have used the analytical units that social scientists employ to describe the workings of a social system. In their totality the above units of analysis allow the social scientist to construct a conceptual framework that facilitates the collection and organization of information. The analytic constructs in themselves are not real but are only guidelines to be used to demarcate the essential relationships within a system. These analytical units can be further assigned to general concepts such as infrastructure, structure and superstructure and causal connections and relationships can be drawn between these structures. How one determines the sequence and the direction of these causal linkages in the study of social systems is referred to as a paradigm--the world view that unites social scientists in the practise of a research strategy.²⁵

²⁵ T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, (Chicago, 1970).

The analytical units that I described above have been configured in a variety of ways by anthropologists. The evolutionary school, for example, would substitute social relations for class relations and environment for infrastructure but the epistemological assumptions, except for attributing causality, of those who conceptualize social relations using a systems approach are essentially the same. Systems analysts are describing what Harris refers to as the "etic behavioral components of social systems."²⁶ Whether the system is derived from Marxian discourse or evolutionary epistemology, the underlying order that a system's approach espouses is based on the premise that human behavior follows some sort of universal logic. A system's approach assumes by default that there is a continuity to social behavior and that a framework designed to understand social behavior at one historical moment can be moved through space and time and applied to a variety of social and historical contexts.

A systems approach therefore has certain limitations. The most serious caveat is that it draws on material that is socially, culturally and historically specific to arrive at a generalization of human societal life. In evolutionary theory the recognition of constancy is brought to life through the assumption that all human and social behavior is somehow adaptive or maladaptive--the synchronic moment thus finds its place within the long trajectory of time. In many variants of historical Marxism there are similar assumptions, albeit many of them implicit, that there are recognizable parallels in the way the tragedy of capitalist incorporation draws societies into the mainstream of modernity.

26 M. Harris, (1979), 54.

A systems approach, despite the above limitations, also has a certain utility. In anthropology, systemics, in either the Marxian or evolutionist formulation, focuses on material life and the reproduction of this life and in this way provides a template through which the most basic economic relationships can be outlined. The system that I refer to above is therefore a formula that demarcates the economic linkages through which the Azores are connected to the modern world. In this work I describe this economic template and outline how it changes over time. The template, however, only serves as an organizational framework that provides an analytic context for the data.

But by imposing analytic order on the human social universe there is a danger of conceptual reification, where the concepts rather than historical or social experience direct process. One can therefore speak of a system that has historical continuity but to understand this continuity it is necessary to locate the agents through which the system is modified through time. Overall, the system remains the same through historical time but how the units function within this system, as well as the composition of the units themselves, changes over time.²⁷ For example, where the class system of fifteenth and sixteenth century Portugal was inclusive and accommodated diverse interests, class relations through the growth of capitalism as a dominant enterprise have solidified and become exclusionary. Labor movement within a social formation also periodically upsets states of equilibrium in the class structure. Because of the boom/bust cycles in the Azorean economy there has

²⁷ Reddy, (1987), 32, writes that the concepts of class, labor and commodity were borrowed by Marx from Ricardian political economy and that "Marx subjected Ricardo's highly technical language to a dialectical critique...Yet he never jettisoned the terms that he unmasked. Once he was fully aware of their limits and their dangers, he saw no reason to replace them.

been a historical tendency for labor to migrate during periods of low productive activity. Migrants who return home to the islands after years in another labor market frequently invest their money in land and small businesses. The migrant journey thus turns peasant commodity producers into a temporary proletariat and then into a petty bourgeois class.

Conceptual Additions to Systemics

In this study, beyond examining the economic relationships of colonialism and capitalist incorporation, I also focus on historical process and cultural change and the study of these phenomena cannot be accommodated within the rigid structure of systems' analysis. Kuhn writes that the objectives of scientifically drawn system models are by their nature static and ahistorical.²⁸ For anthropologists then who want to examine other aspects of social reality they need to establish a different set of criteria to describe this reality. As I maintained above capitalism manifests itself on the human experience in a number of ways. The exploitive nature of capitalist relations has been well argued as of late by many social scientists. To do justice to the victims of this exploitation demands, however, that the social and cultural experience, as well as the economic, of the downtrodden, the exploited and the disenfranchised classes be presented in a manner that elucidates their interaction with these larger processes.

I argued above that I saw a historical relationship between certain infrastructural variables and Portuguese colonial expansion. The infrastructural argument though only pertains to a particular historical period--the time that capitalist relations were slowly developing. With the expansion of the world economy, policies of exclusion came to dominate the

²⁸ Kuhn, (1970), 1.

political, social and cultural dialog between classes. This dichotomy was based on economic divisions and these were defined in relation to access to the means of production. But a world ideology also evolved in conjunction with capitalist enterprise and in addition to economic monopolies, symbolic and social monopolies were established. While Marx thought that the exploited classes would demand what was their natural right and reclaim control of their economic destiny through social revolution, the world's peasants and proletariat have not been able to win this battle for an economic utopia. There have been periodic challenges to the capitalist order but these have occurred neither in the regions nor on the scale that Marx argued for. To point to these periodic challenges as examples of the weakness of the capitalist world order and argue that localized rebellion will eventually metamorphose in large scale revolution is to deny those who have been unable to wage this war in the political arena a history of their own.

I maintain below that the reaction to capitalist exploitation has a symbolic component and that the exploited classes readily incorporate symbols from the ideological universe of capitalism and make them their own. On the one hand there is an ideological system that reinforces the social legitimacy of those who control the destiny of others. On the other hand, to assume that those who are controlled are simply mystified imputes a symbolic unity and a cultural totality to a world that does not exist.²⁹ Economically one can talk of a world system, but culturally there are regions of autonomy, of subcultures and patterns of ethnic solidarity that defy the total domination of the capitalist world order. To be sure many of the symbols used in local cultural expression are borrowed from larger ideological

²⁹ See J. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (New Haven, 1985).

constructs but this is to be expected because societies that are integrated into a world system do not live in a social vacuum. Marshall Sahlins writes that a discussion of a world system without a simultaneous emphasis on how this system promotes and cultivates cultural autonomy

leaves us unable to account for the diversity of local responses to the world system...World system theory itself allows for the preservation of satellite cultures, as the means of reproduction of capital in the dominant European order. But if so, from the alternate vantage of so-called dominated people, European wealth is harnessed to the reproduction and even the creative transformation of their own cultural order.³⁰

To add other societal elements to a systems approach involves more than a refocusing of subject material. To incorporate cultural phenomena into a world system's approach involves the movement from the examination of universal economic relations to a focus on relativistic societal interpretations of these political and economic relations. For this reason, Gerald Sider writes that the study of class relations and cultural phenomena are diametrically in opposition for the former is "more historically dynamic and more analytically precise" and the latter has no "dynamic structure of its own."³¹ The inherent liability in combining subject matter related to culture in a study that has as its starting point a discussion of economic history is that the cultural material can easily be reduced to epiphenomena and seen as a direct consequence of the economic process. The dynamic and precise economic constructs imbue cultural processes and provide meaning for what was previously ambiguous and undefined. In this way the system can be interpreted as the causal mechanism that defines social behavior. But people

³⁰ M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), viii.

³¹ G. Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History*, (Cambridge, 1986), 7,5.

work within the structural constraints of the system and even though "capitalism works on existing cultural materials and often introduces new ones... the dialectical synthesis that results is always culturally specific."³² To find out how capitalist enterprise transforms local "cultural materials" then it is useful to identify some salient cultural features of capitalist enterprise--if only for the purpose of determining what is working on what.

The Origins of a Culture of Capitalism

Before embarking on a discussion of the "culture of capitalism" it is important to separate three components of capitalist enterprise and briefly sketch out how they are related. The individual components are economic, social and cultural--this last component depending on the level of analysis can be substituted for ideological. The economic aspect, as I argued above, is easily accommodated within the framework of systemics. The social and cultural aspects are however more elusive as they are represented differently in different social contexts and do not lend themselves to systemic analysis. There are general patterns though that one can describe as common to a culture of capitalism that can be used as a point of departure to discuss the social and cultural features of capitalist enterprise and how these features are represented at the level of local cultural interpretation. To examine how social relations and cultural interpretation changed with the growth of capitalist enterprise it is beneficial to outline what sorts of institutional and ideological transformations had to occur for capitalist relations to dominate productive activity. For this purpose, one can see in the types of social and

³² P. Worsley, "A Landmark in Anthropology" in *American Ethnologist*, (1984a), Vol. 11, No. 1: 170-175.

cultural relations that emerged in conjunction with merchant capitalism certain patterns that would over time gain greater intensity.

Recently, Robert Heilbroner and Samir Amin have turned their attention to an examination of the essential differences between the workings of feudal and capitalist enterprise.³³ The following discussion draws on the work of these two writers but provides an extra provision to their discussion on the ideologies of social formations—local cultural interpretation. In this sense I attempt to join two distinct but implicitly related academic traditions. The first tradition as represented through the work of Heilbroner and Amin is that of political economy. The second tradition follows the work of anthropologists who are currently attempting to revive a relativistic anthropology in relation to the larger changes in political economy.³⁴

The interaction between these larger processes and local level interpretation is effected by the degree of the development of capitalist relations in any particular region. In regions where capitalism installed itself on pre-existing social relations the outcome of this interaction will certainly be different from what I describe below. For the Azores, however, to find how the types of social and cultural relationships that developed on the islands are related to the growth of capitalist enterprise it is important to make some basic distinctions between feudal and capitalistic social orders.

One of the fundamental differences between feudal and capitalist relations is the role of the state. Under feudal tenure there is a direct involvement on the part of the state in the regulation of productive activity. The feudal state not only provides the institutionalized ideological platform

³³ Heilbroner, (1985).; S. Amin, *Eurocentrism*, (New York, 1989).

³⁴ Some of the anthropologists working in this tradition are C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973; M. Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill, 1980); and M. Sahlins (1985).

that legitimizes and sanctions class hierarchies but furnishes the armies that protect specific class interests. This relationship of politics and economics changes with the advent of full capitalist relations. The most radical way in which the role of the state changes is in the apparent separation of politics and economics under capitalist enterprise.³⁵

The substitution of coercive power for more subtle mechanisms of control is a definitive feature of capitalist enterprise. I argue in Chapter 4 that the market and the integration of the populace into market consumption patterns has certain advantages over a state structure that relies on coercion, or the threat of, to extract surplus value.³⁶ One advantage of a system where the market dictates production is profit. The expansion of capitalist enterprise depends on the creation of new markets for as production increases there must be a corresponding increase in consumption. In order for a market economy to regulate productive activity there must be a system of social incentives that ensures that individuals will continue to produce a surplus without being physically forced to do so.

The transition between feudal and capitalist forms of surplus extraction involves more than economics as the social and political relations that existed under feudal tenure need to have been transformed for market patterns of production to dominate daily life. Heilbroner writes that the "installation of the ideology of capitalism" involved the establishment of new forms of "social legitimacy" to replace those that had been previously rationalized by religion.³⁷ The new form of legitimacy underwritten by

³⁵ See Heilbroner, (1985), 78-106.

³⁶ Scott, (1985), 306 writes of an intermediate phase between coercive and market forms of appropriation. Through a euphemization of economic power, resources and labor are expropriated through mechanisms geared to guarantee social compliance. These mechanisms take the form of loans, charity, feasts and other services.

³⁷ Ibid. 108.

capitalist economy was a more open attitude towards profiteering. Where through the Middle Ages, and as Heilbroner maintains, in most pre-capitalist economies, there was an active ideological disdain against acquisitiveness, under capitalist enterprise acquisition and progress became guiding forces of the new regime.³⁸ The market economy depends on individual motivation and to adduce aspirations through this form of productive activity requires at least the appearance of the possibility of social mobility. The individual needs an incentive to produce and if this incentive is not created by force, as under feudal relations, then the productive incentive must be attributable to other factors.

For this new ideology of progress to embed itself in social reality, social positions that were previously fixed also needed to be reappraised. Through the initial years of class formation under capitalist enterprise—the years of the expansion of merchant capital—social legitimacy had to be bestowed on the economic behavior of traders and merchants. The contradictions that surfaced between the old ideology of social fixity and a new ideology of social redefinition had different social and political ramifications throughout Europe. In Portugal, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, economic avenues opened up for a merchant class but the ideological mechanisms that emphasized social fixity remained largely in place. So while merchants represented a new class of economic entrepreneurs they found a secure refuge and obtained social recognition by identifying ideologically with the old order.

Reddy describes the merchant's strategy to achieve both economic and social advancement as a game where "profits from the first game served as a ticket of entry into the second." In order to play the game merchant families

38 Ibid. 109.

first had to realize sufficient profits to participate in the second round. Profits then that were obtained through merchant enterprise were reinvested in land. The purchase of land by successful merchant families can be attributed to a number of factors. The first, as Reddy maintains, was economic in that land represented a safe investment. Secondly, with land ownership came social prestige. Economic advancement thus translated into social mobility. A third factor, which Reddy does not mention but is important for the present discussion, is that the interplay between new economic pursuits and old ideological notions forged a relationship between a new merchant class and the old feudal gentry. On a practical level the alliance created through the above identity making process allowed the merchant class to disguise their origins and permitted an impoverished feudal class to revive their economic fortunes.

As Sidney Greenfield points out, the desire for social mobility was an important element in the peopling of Madeira and his argument is equally applicable to the Azores.³⁹ While on one level the state needed to extend production to the Atlantic Islands, on another level they needed a program to ensure that there was human labor to engage in this production. One way to meet both of the above objectives was through the deployment of slave labor, but as I show in Chapter 5 this type of labor was not used on the Azores on a large-scale. Merchants, feudal lords and common settlers all arrived in the Azores on their own volition. Cash crops were produced on the islands and these commodities were exchanged for other commodities which provided social definition. During the era of merchant capital a cultural system

³⁹ S. Greenfield, "Madeira and the Beginnings of New World Sugar Cane Cultivation and Plantation slavery: A Study in Institution Building," in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in New World Plantation Economies*, V. Ruben and A. Tuden (eds), (New York, 1977).

emerged on the Azores that closely mirrored the economic exigencies of the day.

To what extent this cultural system was consciously produced is difficult to say. It is even more difficult in retrospect to attempt to reconstruct the cultural universe that may have defined social behavior on the islands. At this point one can only describe some of the social tensions and ideological contradictions that existed on the islands between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Portuguese state while committed to a program of economic expansion still sought legal and moral legitimacy through religion. The transition, between a state that fully embraced the new ideology of capitalist acquisition and social mobility and a state that found legal justification through an identification with a world religion that stressed social fixity, was therefore incomplete in Portugal. There are obvious parallels between ideological and economic processes in this regard. Economically, the transition to full capitalist production did not occur in Portugal because of the dependent relationship that existed between Portugal and the manufacturing states in northern Europe. Portugal was integrated into the world program of capitalist expansion at an early stage but the transition from merchant capital to industrial capital that would characterize capital formation in the northern regions did not materialize in Portugal. On an ideological level this incompleteness and peripheral economic status within the world economic community is represented through the close marriage between state and church that has historically been maintained in Portugal.

Ritual and Culture

Through an examination of religious policy and ritual change (see Chapter 10), the ideological contradictions that resulted from the interplay of old and new societal forms become clear. Eric Gans has recently presented a new theoretical framework in anthropology which places the loci of cultural change within the drama of ritual exchange. Gans synthesizes the work of Marvin Harris and Claude Lévi-Strauss to arrive at his interpretation of the role of ritual in human societies. Initially, to Gans, participation in the ritual process is stimulated by material appetite, but once developed, the ritual becomes a playground for resolving human conflict. While I do not agree with Gans's premise that ritual is an all encompassing institution around which everything in society revolves, his theory is nevertheless interesting for this study because he examines the development of a world culture from within the context of ritual change.⁴⁰ An examination of ritual is one way to examine how the ideology of capitalism has made its mark on the cultural universe of the Azoreans. Ritual, for the purpose of this study, is seen as a cultural mechanism through which the interplay of the disparate world views of Catholic and capitalistic ideologies are reinterpreted on the local level. But ritual continuity is only one piece of a larger puzzle for once it is demonstrated it is necessary to explain both the social processes that contribute to the maintenance of a specific ritual practise and those processes that contribute to change in the ritual function.

In Chapter 12, I use the Azorean ritual of the *Espírito Santo* as a framework to examine how different forms of economic development on the islands encroach on the cultural universe of the Azoreans. The *Espírito*

⁴⁰ E. Gans. *The End of Culture*, (Berkeley, 1985).

Santo has distinctive historical phases and one sees radical changes in the ritual with the decline of merchant capital and the migration of Azorean labor to the industrial regions. Both continuity in ritual performance and the successive changes in function that the ritual has undergone can be attributed to outmigration from the islands. Azoreans are drawn into the capitalist process through the sale of their labor yet, for a large part, they do not seek social recognition in the industrial regions where they labor. Many Azoreans use the money obtained through wage labor as a form of social capital which is invested in status enhancing pursuits, such as ritual, on the islands that are on the surface not practical from a rational economic standpoint.

The question of why certain groups develop strategies that reinforce social sodalities has been explored in a number of theoretical contexts. Eric Wolf has written that the closed corporate peasant community with its insular ritual structure is a pattern of social organization that must be understood within the framework of larger economic realities.⁴¹ Peasants exposed to class disparities in the outside world consolidate and redistribute their resources to alleviate social tensions within their own social boundaries. Ritual is thus a leveling mechanism through which the wealth of a community is circulated.⁴² In relation to peasant communities there appear to be two forces that are operating simultaneously; the peasant contact with the external sphere can be understood in terms of economic participation and social denial. But there is another dimension to the interaction between the internal and the external worlds and this interaction is cultural. Peasants while employing social strategies that perpetuate their isolation from the

⁴¹ E. Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, (1957) XIII, No. 1..

⁴² M. Nash, "The Social Context of Economic Choice in a Small Society," *Man* (1961), Vol. 61, No. 219

larger world at the same time borrow ideas from the ideological system that justifies their economic exploitation. The above cultural admixture results in religious syncretism--"the merging of forms derived from two cultural spheres."⁴³

Migration and Identity Maintenance

The synthesis of economic, social and cultural forms is complicated somewhat when one discusses a migrant society. First, migrants because of the need to travel away from the closed corporate structure are spatially separated from the social universe of their fellow villagers who did not migrate. Because of this geographic movement the migrant's social situation is many times phrased not in terms of what the migrant would frequently call home, but in terms of the society that he or she is only visiting for a short period of time. Consequently, migrant communities are seen as ethnic enclaves that persist either because the host society refuses to allow their assimilation or because the migrants themselves refuse to discard their secure past identity in exchange for a future identity that is uncertain.⁴⁴ In contrast to other types of social affiliations such as family which has obvious social and biological functions, or class which can be defined in economic terms, the ethnic group is tied together by cultural threads.⁴⁵

Ethnicity, maintains Peter Worsley, does not exist in a vacuum, but is a product of the historical interchange between the processes of recruitment, denial and subsequent seclusion.⁴⁶ As a labor force, Azoreans have spatially

⁴³ E. Wolf, *Peasants* (New Jersey, 1966), 103.

⁴⁴ F. Barth in the , "Introduction," *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, (Boston, 1969) discusses these social aspects of boundary maintenance between ethnic groups.

⁴⁵ See G. De Vos, "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation," *Ethnic Identity*, G. De. Vos and L. Romanucci-Ross (eds.), (Chicago, 1982).

⁴⁶ Worsley, (1984), 237-241.

relocated to North America, but existing class barriers have denied them social mobility so they have historically maintained their own ethnic identity. Closed class relations in this sense promote ethnic solidarity. But again history is not static and ethnic perceptions as well as class membership change over time. While class barriers can be considered *a priori* in that within the spatial context of developed capitalist countries their existence conditions ethnic solidarity, the dialog between class and ethnicity is the result of the interchange between the recruitment of the workers as a labor force, the subsequent denial of their social legitimacy and the transference of these negotiations into a positive social and cultural force.

It is here that the relationship between class and ethnicity becomes opaque. Why do ethnic groups which share the same economic and social experience not organize along class lines? Why do ethnic groups turn their negative economic exploitation into a positive cultural force rather than voice their dissatisfaction with the system through participation in broader social exercises? Members of certain ethnic groups which are characterized by occupational specialization may share a common work experience. For example, in Toronto, Canada, both Portuguese and Italians do construction work. The Portuguese and Italian workers share a common class designate as transplanted migrant proletarians laboring in an industrial region. Also common to these two categories of worker is a Catholic heritage. In an area like Winnipeg, Canada, these two categories of workers and their families even reside in the same neighborhoods. But all these common affiliates of labor, residence and religion do not impart cultural definition.

Despite the interaction of these social groups across ethnic lines, ethnicity is still an active social and cultural force in many North American communities. To understand how this ethnic identity is maintained it is

important not only to examine how ethnic boundaries are established and maintained in North American communities but how the maintenance of a cultural identity keeps alive the connection between ethnic enclaves and the sending societies. To conceptualize how Azoreans collectively define their cultural and spatial universe then it is important to examine the processes that reinforce the maintenance of an ethnic identity.

To answer these questions it is necessary to reformulate a number of assumptions that are basic to Marxian analysis. Under capitalist enterprise those who have no recourse but to sell their labor have an entirely different relation to the means of production than a capitalist class. The economic relationship between those who sell their labor and those who buy this labor is easily discernable. The transference of value from one class to the other has obvious economic benefits for the capitalist class. The capitalist class exploits labor power to thrive and expand. What is not clear is how this exchange of value is interpreted by those who sell their labor. To understand why a labor class willingly sells their labor the social component of capitalist enterprise must be examined. For Marx the exploitive nature of this productive exchange would manifest itself socially through class struggle and the social transformation of the relations of production. The revolutionary seeds would be sown in those regions where capitalist relations were well developed as it was the process of full time proletarianization that would produce the alienation that would germinate in class struggle. Thus, Marx's predictions that revolutionary processes would lead to the overthrow of capitalist relations apply to the core areas where capitalism developed.

Historically, however, revolutionary reactions to capitalist penetration have occurred only in regions that are peripheral, geographically and economically, to the core regions where capitalism grew and developed.

Since capitalist relations have not seriously been challenged by revolutionary elements in the most developed capitalist countries then the correlates of economic exploitation and social rebellion must be reformulated to explain how capitalist enterprise has thrived in those very regions where it should have been overthrown. To explain how capitalist enterprise curbs revolutionary discontent, one must examine other aspects of capitalist relations besides the economic elements which are usually used to define the system.

The solidification of class relations on the one hand by a dominant capitalist class and a corresponding solidification of a cultural identity by an exploited class does provide a measure with which to conceptualize socio-cultural change. If it can be assumed, as Heilbroner argues, that the world view maintained by those who control the means of production is consistent with the dominant ideology of capitalism, then one can look for a degree of correspondence between class position and cultural expression.⁴⁷ The ideological system of capitalism can be loosely described as a world view that mystifies and obscures the exploitation that characterizes capitalist class relations. The resolution of social injustices brought on through capitalist incorporation is not an important component of capitalist ideology. It is the role of ideology to legitimize and sanction the given social relations not to articulate solutions to resolve social inequalities. It would seem then that those who would most strongly maintain that ideology is representative of social reality are those whose class position is reinforced through this belief.

The ideology of capitalism through the guise of political democracy and equal market opportunity contains numerous paradoxes. The most obvious

47 Heilbroner, (1986), 107.

of these is economic. Equal access to resources while espoused ideologically is seldom realized in reality. Access to essential and strategic resources remain the property of the governing class over time and this class uses a variety of mechanisms to ensure this continual control. There are kinship connections which are perpetuated through class endogamy and resources and power are passed from one generation to the next.⁴⁸ Dominant class interests control the economic infrastructure and invest considerable funds in the political process to ensure that the state apparatus protects these interests.⁴⁹ Despite these self-serving strategies to further their interests economically, the world view of the dominant class rests on the theorem that their privileges are naturally derived and not based on social advantages. On the one hand, capital is monopolized through the perpetuation of exclusive class rights but in another way this ownership is disguised through an ideology that maintains social mobility is always a possibility.

But how is this opportunity for social mobility interpreted by the laboring classes? Since migrant classes must be aware of the impossibility of crossing class boundaries, how do they define their social identities in relation to a stratification system that excludes them? The obvious answer to the above questions is that migrants attempt to reduce the negative experience of economic exploitation and focus on the more positive benefits derived from their participation in a market economy. Through the sale of their labor, migrants can purchase commodities which elevate them socially within their own referential group. What Marx referred to as commodity fetishism is then more than a mystification of the labor process. The acquisition of the

⁴⁸ W. Clement in , *The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power*, (Toronto, 1975) examines how economic relationships are perpetuated over time through the maintenance of interlocking corporate directorships.

⁴⁹ Baran and Sweezy, (1966).

commodity though the sale of labor produces a real result—status elevation. As long as the individual remains within the ethnic boundary the sale of labor power has a positive social value.

In the case of an ethnic group whose members retain a strong return ideology, strategies for social elevation are not limited to the ethnic enclave but are transferred to the home society. Ritual in this type of a situation can serve a dual purpose. First, through ritual participation the migrant has the opportunity to turn economic remittances into social value. Consequently, when these remittances are returned within the context of ritual participation this economic exchange acquires social significance. Second, those in the home society who did not migrate benefit materially from the remittances sent home by the migrant. I examine these issues in Chapter 10 to show how the ritual is transformed through migrant participation.

At this point it is perhaps useful to review and clarify some of the above issues. Migrants employ a number of strategies to ensure not only that their economic well being is taken care of but that the alienating experience of labor exploitation is given a positive social value. Through their participation in the labor process, migrants are exposed to a world view that equates success with acquisitive consumption. Migrants incorporate elements of this world view as they select symbols from the larger ideological constructs and use these to gain social prestige. But the migrant's incorporation into capitalist enterprise is incomplete and thus their cultural perception of the ideology of capitalism is markedly different from that of a bourgeois class. To the migrant, one commodity (labor) is exchanged for another commodity (a symbol) that denotes success within a particular social sphere. While there is a social identification with the commodity and the value that it has in terms of social prestige, these values and their

corresponding symbols espoused through capitalist ideology are reinterpreted on the cultural level.

Where the capitalist class order may be perceived by the capitalist class as having an origin that is grounded in nature, an exploited class will have an entirely different perception of the social reality that legitimizes this hierarchical structuring. As Marshall Sahlins writes:

Captain Cook appears as an ancestral god to Hawaiian priests, more like a divine warrior to the chiefs, and evidently something else and less to ordinary men and women.⁵⁰

Culture is, from this perspective, an active interpretative force through which a number of societal contradictions are resolved. The interplay of culture and ideology in the Azores has historically occurred on a number of levels. There is the interaction between the Old World (Catholicism) view of social fixity and the New World (capitalism) view of social progress. There is the contradiction between being laborers who have been seduced into participation in capitalist production through promises of social mobility and being members of a particular class that is denied access to sanctioned economic and social circles. The migrant is thus confronted with a dual dilemma: through participation in the labor process the migrant develops an attitude that is highly individualistic; but the migrant in order to maintain respectability and legitimacy in the home society must reassign commodities obtained through individualistic endeavor and give them communal meaning. Members of a migrant ethnic group thus, in a similar way to peasants in a closed corporate community, react to a rigid class structure by turning their social and cultural energies inward.

⁵⁰ Sahlins, (1985), x.

Through their participation in the labor process and the purchase of commodities with the monies earned through this involvement, migrants contribute to capital growth and the perpetuation of class disparities. The individualistic achievements of the migrant is noted through the purchase of commodities which are used as symbols of status within the ethnic enclave. Despite these obvious attempts at status elevation and individualism in the ethnic context, there are strong localized processes that serve to minimize these achievements. By purchasing commodities that are used to define success in the external world and returning with these commodities and flaunting them in the home society, the migrants bring back the negative tensions that characterize social life in the larger society. However, the purpose of maintaining an ethnic identity is to minimize conflict. How then are these conflicting notions of enhanced individualism (represented through commodity consumption) and ethnic and community solidarity resolved on the local level?

The Azorean community as a spatial and economic entity is physically divided because of outmigration. Some Azoreans work and reside in North America and others stay at home on the islands. Economically, the latter have been historically dependent on the former. The connecting tie I maintain that both unites Azoreans who work and live in North America and those who stay on the islands is ritual. Ritual in the Azores, specifically the *Espírito Santo*, functions as a levelling mechanism through which migrant wealth is redistributed through the community in a manner which reinforces social cohesion. Migrants still retain enough of the monies that they earn to purchase commodities that denote success, but they nevertheless allocate certain sums to be used to support ritual continuity.

Participation in the ritual is more than an economic and social exercise for it provides members of a community with a united view of the outside world. The *Espírito Santo*, for example, while performed within the context of the church, has its own mythology that contrasts sharply with the rigid hierarchical program of Catholicism (see Chapter 10). There are other Azorean myths as well that de-emphasize the negative experience the islanders have with the outside world. Sahlin's argues that members of small scale cultures, attempt as much as is reasonably possible, to redefine the social universe to their advantage. People in this sense "cease to be the slaves of their concepts, and become the masters."⁵¹

The redefinition of the larger social universe to suit a particular cultural advantage can occur in a variety of ways. One example that I use is the Azorean card game where the cards, with their Kings, Queens and Jacks that symbolize the Old World view of monarchy and rigidity, are reinterpreted on the local level in a manner that presents the islanders experiences with the outside world in a positive light. Through the card game the islanders depict their history as seen through their eyes. The external and formal values assigned to specific cards are rejected and other cards representing the islanders actual experience are given greater value (see Chapter 9).

Migrants while economically exploited thus find ways to interpret this exploitation in a manner where they become the masters, to whatever extent, of their own destinies. While migrants can be drawn into the labor process through events which are largely beyond their control there are aspects of their lives that they do have control over. I began this essay by describing the

⁵¹ Ibid.

global economic system that has historically defined productive activity on the islands. As would be expected the islanders when exposed to the symbols associated with social identification in the larger world incorporate some of these symbols and make them their own. The islanders are slaves of the commodity then for they trade their labor for a product that is socially defined and thereby reinforce and help perpetuate the system that exploits them. The arena, however, where the islanders do have autonomy is culture for their interpretations of the system cannot be as readily manipulated as their social and economic universe can.

Summary

The Azores were one of the first economic frontiers created as a result of the expansion of merchant capital. Economically, socially and culturally the islands have been subjected to all the elements associated with the growth of capitalist enterprise. When commodity production declined on the islands, Azoreans migrated to the industrial regions. The social and cultural universe of the Azoreans is, in part, a reflection of this larger experience and, in part, a product of an exploited people attempting to rationalize this experience.

Theoretically, it would be difficult to outline how capital expansion in its various phases has affected the lives of the islanders if the process of capitalist incorporation were described in a systemic way. What I have presented above is a method with which to conceptualize how the historical growth of capitalism has impacted on a small island region. I have used a longitudinal perspective to attempt to explain this historical growth and hopefully the discussion that follows will generate further questions as to

how to approach the process of capitalist incorporation in specific historical and geographic regions.

While the growth of capitalist enterprise has followed a universal pattern it has manifested itself in regionally diverse motifs. To understand the general and specific aspects of capital expansion involves both a description of how a region is incorporated into the market process and how this incorporation finds meaning in local social and cultural expression.

PORTUGAL'S AGRICULTURAL CRISIS AND LABOR MIGRATION, 1300-1425

In this chapter I introduce the historical background to the settling of the Atlantic Islands. The colonization of the Atlantic islands required the participation of two classes which, before Portuguese colonial expansion began, had been only minor economic contributors to feudal life. Below I discuss the circumstances under which these two classes rose and became important forces in the Portuguese program of colonial expansion. One class, the merchants, through the capital they provided, became an economic life-line in a dying feudal economy. The other class, *lavradores* (workers), was composed of disenfranchised peasants who furnished the labor so ships could be built, provisioned and crewed. Both of these groups would figure prominently in the settling and the economic life of the Azores.

Eric Wolf writes that, of all the colonial powers, Portugal is certainly the "least understood".¹ Part of the enigma stems from the reality that Portugal really did not have the resources to embark on such a quest: the quality of the land is considered poor and at the time of expansion there were a little more than a million people in what is today considered continental Portugal.² Yet, Portugal rose to great heights as a colonial power. This chapter examines the reasons for this sudden florescence. I argue that the increase

¹ Wolf, (1982), 110.

² C. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, (London).

in commercial activity and the subsequent voyages of discovery, in the fifteenth century, can be traced to a drastic decline in agricultural production within Portugal. The decline in agricultural production was the result of a loss of labor in the rural sector. The "Black Death" in 1348 had reduced the rural population by at least a third.

The argument that I am suggesting brings to mind Malthus, and his controversial thesis on population growth. Critics of the population growth perspective argue that existing social conditions would have produced the revolutionary changes that feudal society underwent regardless of demographic factors.³ The plague merely added fuel to an existing fire. It is a grave mistake, argues Armando Castro, to link phenomena simply because of their chronological appearance in history.⁴ But it is equally myopic to totally discount demographic changes and the historical impact that these changes have had on societal transformation. In contrast to the demographers of history who see in the aftermath of the "Black Death" simply a relationship between population decline and spiraling wages, I argue that demographic decline following the plague opened up opportunities for a merchant class who took advantage of the crisis in the agricultural sector to further their own means. This merchant class, which included both national and foreign interests, invested the capital that supported Portuguese maritime exploration. The preparation for the voyages of discovery began long before the end of the fifteenth century. The forces and events that would precipitate

³ The debate as to whether social change is the result of class conflict or demographic variables has appeared in a number of different contexts. See, for example, the dialog between R. Brenner, "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe," *Past and Present*, No. 70 (1976) and M. Postan and J. Hatcher, "Population and Class Relations in Feudal Society," *Past and Present*, No. 78 (1978).

⁴ A. Castro, *História Económica de Portugal*, (1981).

the explorations--ship building, development of a maritime science, expanding mercantile relations and the conquest of strategic territory--had been underway for almost a century.

To explain the decline of feudal relations and the expansion of merchant capital in Portugal, I use Samir Amin's argument that tributary relations were never as consolidated and centralized in Europe as they were, for example, in Asia Minor.⁵ This inherent weakness in European feudalism impeded surplus extraction and led to the development of incipient forms of capitalism in peripheral areas such as the capitalist cities in Italy and Flanders. The fortunes of Genoa and Venice were fueled by trade with the Far East--most of this trade coming by way of caravans through the Middle East. When this trade was disrupted the Genovese in particular sought out new access to these resources.⁶ One of the areas of Italian investment was the Portuguese economy. Italian merchants, in collusion with Portuguese nobility and a developing bourgeois strata, took advantage of labor that had migrated from the agrarian sector to embark on the voyages of discovery and the search for new trade routes.

While feudal economies throughout Europe during this period were beset with problems, there were circumstances particular to Portugal that allowed a merchant class to thrive. One obvious advantage Portugal had for merchants interested in investing in new economic pursuits was its proximity to the sea. Geographically situated north of the Atlantic gate to the Strait of Gibraltar and at the most southern point of western Europe, ships

⁵ S. Amin, *Class and Nation: Historically and in the Current Crisis* (New York, 1980), 46-70.

⁶ P. Malanima, (1987), attributes increasing capitalistic expansion of Italian merchants during the Middle Ages to the transition from spice trading to textile manufacture.

could debark from Portugal and readily take advantage of favorable winds to explore the mid-Atlantic and the African coast. But there were other circumstances that made Portugal a favorable climate in which a merchant class could operate. The "Black Death" in 1348 had swept Europe causing serious population decline on the continent as a whole. The Black Death and other plagues that followed in the latter half of the fourteenth century, however, had a more devastating effect on Portugal than it did in other regions of Europe. In Portugal, the plagues contributed to a continuous flow of people from the rural sector to urban areas. While urban growth was taking place in cities throughout Europe, in Portugal the loss of the rural population caused severe agricultural deficiencies. Population loss in the agrarian sector had social as well as productive ramifications. Foremost, the decline in agricultural activity lessened the support the state provided the landed feudal class and expanded the economic arena in which a merchant class could operate. The agricultural crisis reduced the power of the feudal class and the peasants who abandoned the countryside were available for deployment in other more lucrative pursuits.

While the plague provided the initial catalyst for the crisis, the response to the crisis on the part of the state was based on a number of factors. The Portuguese political structure at the time of the onset of the plague was feudal in character. Wolf describes the feudal class during this period in Portugal in the following manner: "At home, agricultural rents and labor dues supported a military nobility exempt from taxes and protected against arbitrary arrest."⁷ True, the economic base of the landowning gentry was governed by feudal social relations, but the profits realized through the

⁷ Wolf, (1982), 111.

exploitation of this base were from international trade with the cottage textile polities of France and Flanders in northern Europe.⁸ Population decline thus not only contributed to a decrease in agricultural production it upset the trade balance between Portugal and its trading partners.

The agricultural crisis in itself would not have promoted the strategic logistical support the state supplied the merchant class if it had not been for another extremely important factor. The intensive agricultural production necessary to engage in continental trade hinged on the maintenance of a very precarious environmental base. Clarence-Smith writes that:

Portugal is not blessed by nature. In the north there is little level land suitable for mechanized farming, and what little there is tends to be devastated by sudden floods. The relief is flatter in the south, but the soils are generally very poor and subjected to frequent droughts.⁹

The Portuguese court, aware of environmental limitations and eager to find new means to restore the trade balance, actively entertained and supported merchant ventures. Merchants in Portugal became a prominent class in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries because they mediated the transference of resources from colonial territory to northern Europe. Merchants also provided much of the capital necessary to engage in these colonial endeavors. But while mercantilism, in its most formal sense, involved explicit policies of economic nationalism, the actual investors in Portuguese mercantile activity were foreign traders. Marques writes:

⁸ A. Marques, (1983).

⁹ G. Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire 1825-1975*, (Manchester, 1985), 7.

Another point that needs a careful analysis is the participation of foreigners and of foreign interests. The Italians controlled a large part of the Portuguese long-distance trade, especially trade directed towards the Mediterranean...Along with the Italians came many others: Basques, Castilians, Catalans, North Europeans, and of course Moslems. Their contributions to the Portuguese voyages and methods should neither be forgotten nor overrated.¹⁰

While Marques warns that the role of foreign traders in the Portuguese economy should not be overstated, there are nevertheless striking parallels between the revival of mercantile activity and the investment of merchant capital in the Portuguese national economy. Even though the Portuguese program of mercantilism was explicitly nationalistic and a local merchant class did participate to a certain extent, the driving force behind early Portuguese colonial expansion was foreign capital. Wallerstein argues that foreign and indigenous merchants intervened in national economies in radically different ways.

If it were indigenous, it added an additional important factor in internal politics. If it were foreign, their interests were linked primarily to those of the emerging poles of development, what in time would be called metropolises.¹¹

The differences between indigenous and foreign merchant strategies can be attributed to state policies that prevented foreign merchants from investing in land, thereby eliminating any investment opportunity for merchant capital except further investment in commercial enterprise. Armando Castro points to the formation of syndicates by the Genovese for the exploration of alum, an essential product for textile manufacturing, in the

¹⁰ Marques, (1976), 141-142.

¹¹ Wallerstein, (1974), 151.

latter part of the fifteenth century. The mercantilist monopolies established during this period defined the character of colonial expansion and the roles of the primary actors in the colonial program were designated at this early stage in "modern" history. The Portuguese, despite all their colonial achievements, never overcame the obstacles that these syndicates imposed.¹² Portugal's role in colonial history became that of a "re-exporter of goods" and a provider of raw materials. Portugal, by the latter part of the fifteenth century, had become the modern equivalent of a "dependent" nation.

One of the members of the royal court who most enthusiastically sought the assistance of merchants was Prince Henry the Navigator (Dom Henrique). There was a great deal of activity in the house of the Dom Henrique during the first half of the fifteenth century. The fortunes to be made through the maritime expeditions the Navigator was sponsoring were considerable and many entrepreneurs were attracted to his court. The alliance created between the state and a merchant class at this historical juncture would have important implications for the future development of the Portuguese economy.

Rocha Gil in a provocative and comprehensive study, *O Arquipélago dos Açores no Século XVII*, describes the personages who gathered around the Dom Henrique as the second sons of Flemish nobility, members of the new Portuguese aristocracy and the mercantile elite from Italy.¹³ The linkages between a bankrupt yet still ambitious feudal gentry and a mercantile sector who represented the interests of finance capital from Genoa and Flanders were established through this common connection. Rocha Gil's depiction of

¹² A. Castro, *História Económica de Portugal*, (Lisbon, 1985), 41.

¹³ M. Rocha Gil, *O Arquipélago dos Açores no Século XVII: Aspectos Sócio-Económicos 1575-1675*, (Castelo Branco, 1979).

the collected interests that fueled Portuguese colonial expansion challenges the domino theory of feudalism--where colonies from the Iberian peninsula were nothing but "overseas feudal estates"--that so many orthodox Marxists embrace.¹⁴ The marriage of Isabel, the daughter of Dom João I, to the Duke of Burgundy, formally united Portuguese maritime efforts with the "grand cities of industrial textiles of the time." Men of importance from the northern textile cities had migrated to Portugal where many of them married into Portuguese families who had little resources but who still had considerable influence in royal circles. In Madeira and Porto Santo, Genovese played vital roles in marketing and the organization of productive activity. The future father-in-law of Christopher Columbus, Bartolomeu Perestrelo, was given the captaincy for Porto Santo and proceeded forthright to depopulate Porto Santo of its most precious resource--the tree *dragoynero*, an important dye source.

The merchants who were already well established in Portugal, in the Middle Ages, became more prominent as they provided the Portuguese crown with "venture capital" to underwrite the "voyages of discovery".¹⁵

The organization of Portuguese trade with tropical Africa developed in haphazard fashion. For several decades after the capture of Ceuta it remained open to anyone with venture capital, provided he pay the *quinto* (the royal fifth) to the crown.¹⁶

The Portuguese offered those with venture capital the advantages of technological developments in Portuguese maritime science and ships with

¹⁴ See A. Webster, *Introduction to the Sociology of Development*, (London, 1984).

¹⁵ J. Silva, "Portugal and Overseas Expansion from XVth-XVIIIth Centuries," *The Journal of European Economic History*, (1979).

¹⁶ L. McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, (Minneapolis, 1984), , 49.

which to transport their wares. All this activity, however, required a heavy labor investment.

On the continent, in the early fifteenth century, the demographic transition that would define Portuguese colonial as well as modern history was well under way.¹⁷ Portuguese colonial expansion was a labor intensive enterprise. Soldiers had been mobilized for the wars against neighboring Castille and to protect colonial outposts in North Africa. A continuous reserve of seamen were needed for the exploratory voyages that the Portuguese crown was actively supporting. Workmen were needed to build new vessels to replace those lost in the unpredictable Atlantic.

McAlister writes that the expansion program of the Portuguese crown was bolstered by demographic growth. Around 1450 "Portugal's population began to increase" and the Portuguese took advantage of the labor surplus by reclaiming agricultural land that had been abandoned in the previous century and by intensifying their expansion overseas.¹⁸ The population mark in the latter half of the fifteenth century had reached 1, 200, 000. It is difficult to state with any certainty as to exactly how the majority of this labor was deployed, but the labor demands for colonial expansion were high and must have absorbed a significant number of these new "souls". There are general population data for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that are indicative in terms of an overall trend. In the second half of the fifteenth century, some 100,000 to 150,000 Portuguese were outside the country.¹⁹ Between 1500 and 1580, some 280,000, a medium of 3,500 each year, left, and during the Filipino domination, (1580-1640) the exodus increased to 300,000 to 360,000, or an

¹⁷ J. Serrão, (1982).

¹⁸ McAlister, (1984), 66.

¹⁹ Castro, (1985), 83.

average of 5000 to 6000 a year. The human loss to Portugal would not have been as severe if those who left did not represent the most productive sector of the population. The majority of the departees were between adolescence and 30 and 40 years of age. Since the population in Portugal during this period numbered just over a million, the decline through migration over fifty year periods roughly corresponds to one third of the population.

The agricultural crisis in the fourteenth century stimulated a demographic trend that has been a definitive force in Portuguese modern history. This trend, what Serrão calls the "Portuguese diaspora",²⁰ is related to out-migration for from the time of the bubonic plague until today there has been a steady outflow of migrants from Portugal to various parts of the world. Perhaps, no other nation has so steadily and for such a long period of time lost through migration such a large proportion of its resident population.

The two elements that were crucial to Portuguese colonial expansion were a merchant class and laboring class. To find out how these two classes came to play such an important role, it is necessary to turn back in historical time and examine the social system that existed prior to the onset of the plague and how this system changed as a result of demographic decline.

²⁰ Serrão (1982), 85.

Portugal in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Labor devoted to manufacturing industry, to commercial enterprise, and to administration, much though it may contribute to enriching society, has to rely on others to grow the food it consumes.²¹

Caldwell aptly describes the kinds of linkages that connected European polities in the fourteenth century. There were small manufacturing centers in Flanders, France, Italy and England; and there were societies that were primarily agricultural producers, such as the then disparate polities in the Iberian peninsula. By the fourteenth century there were elaborate trade networks that linked these productive spheres—a dependent network that ensured continued interaction. Salt, fish, grains, grapes and animal products were shipped north from southern Europe and in return the agricultural polities received finished products such as textiles.

How important commerce was to the Portuguese economy and how or if the expansion of trade networks catalyzed the voyages of discovery continues to be a subject of debate among historians. There are those that maintain that the influence of commerce was negligible and there are those that argue that it was sea-borne trade that allowed the Portuguese a "chance to take their place in the world". But the question still remains: Why did the Portuguese take the lead in maritime exploration?

It is known that the Portuguese under the guidance of the Infante Dom Henrique achieved spectacular successes in the development of ship technology and maritime science. They developed a hinged rudder that facilitated the maneuverability of larger ocean going vessels. They also

²¹ M. Caldwell, "The Dimension of Environment," *Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies*, H. Alavi and T. Shanin (eds.), (New York, 1982), 260.

developed a three masted caravel "which could sail closer to the wind than any other European vessel."²² They improved on the nautical compass, an innovation borrowed from the Chinese, which increased their navigational skill and the accuracy of their charts immensely. In fact, before his voyages to the New World Columbus consulted the Portuguese on the technical intricacies related to ocean travel.²³ Trend describes the expertise that characterized Portuguese nautical science: "Plans for the first expeditions were prepared by the group of pilots, mathematicians and cartographers whom the navigator gathered around him."²⁴ In contrast, during this same period in the rural sector:

The roads were wretchedly bad, even by medieval standards; and the towns or villages were relatively few and far between, situated on hill-tops or in clearings amid the vast expanses of scrub, heath, waste and woodlands.²⁵

The Portuguese with the vast scientific expertise that was accessible to them could have expended more effort in developing this sector, yet they chose not to. The reasons for the priority of maritime as opposed to agricultural development become clear when one examines the realities of socio-economic life in Portugal in the mid-fourteenth century. This period, prior to the "Voyages of Discovery", is to many historians the demarcation point between the medieval era and the modern epoch.

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, Portugal, as an agricultural producer, provided primary resources to other areas of Europe

²² Boxer, (1969), 27.

²³ Cortesão, (1973).

²⁴ J. Trend, *Portugal*, (London, 1957), 133.

²⁵ Boxer, (1969), 4.

that were undergoing significant changes both in the development of technology and the exploitation of human labor to take advantage of this technology. Despite environmental limitations which impeded high agricultural yields, Portugal provided raw materials for production as well as foodstuffs to feed these polities where secondary cottage activity had displaced primary production. For example, sheep wool from the Alentejo region and hides from the cattle raising areas were shipped to Flanders. At the same time, Portugal became a market for the manufactured textiles produced in northern Europe. Marques writes that all people of status were clothed in garments from Flanders.²⁶ The trade balance between Portugal and the northern manufacturing polities was maintained at first through the exchange of primary and secondary products. Portugal supplemented earnings from the agricultural sector by serving as re-exporters of spices from northern Africa and the Mediterranean; a practise that had begun when the Muslims controlled Lisbon.²⁷ In addition, commodities from Italy passed through Lisbon and revenues were gained by the royal court through taxation. These activities were well established in Portugal during the Middle Ages.

A number of factors, however, during the beginning of the fourteenth century, destabilized this largely symbiotic relationship. The medium of exchange during the last hundred years of the Middle Ages was gold, and its supply was scarce at times because of attacks on the camel caravans that brought the gold, or the practise of hoarding by middle-men to drive up prices.²⁸ The price of basic commodities such as wheat were also increasing.

²⁶ A. Marques, (1983), 163.

²⁷ H. Livermore, *A New History of Portugal*, (London, 1966).

²⁸ Boxer, (1969).

In 1280 one *alqueire* of wheat was valued at seven *soldos*, but by 1360 the price had risen to thirteen *soldos*. Portugal, at the time, while a producer of cereal grains, still had to rely on imports because the agricultural lands were not amenable to this type of agricultural production on a large scale. To control inflation, the Portuguese king, in 1253, had established a table of prices, but "it omitted cereals and other agricultural products, perhaps to defend the interests of large landowners (including the king) against the merchant class."²⁹

Because of the above factors, by the time of the arrival of the plague in Portugal in 1348, the Portuguese economy was already beset with problems, but these problems characterized other European polities as well. There was the conflict between large landowners who were enriching themselves, through profits obtained through rising prices, at the expense of the *povo*, the majority of the population who were tied to the feudal estates. And there was a merchant class whose members were continually trying to assert themselves and undermine the power of the feudal gentry. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and the continual competition between the feudal gentry and the merchant class produced acute class differences in Portuguese society, with the peasantry contributing the greatest effort and reaping the smallest reward.

Boxer describes the class structure of Portugal during the fourteenth century in the following manner.³⁰ The greatest numbers, out of a population of approximately one million, were *lavradores* (peasants) who worked through various arrangements for the *poderosos* (the powerful

²⁹ Marques, (1983), 171.

³⁰ Boxer, (1969).

landowners). The rents paid by the peasantry to the landed gentry gravitated from "one-tenth-to one-half of the annual produce." Peasants were also obliged to provide a tithe to the church. Boxer estimates that the payments by the peasant might reach 70 percent of what a peasant annually produced. In addition, in a similar way that the Spanish crown protected its interests through the *repartimiento* system in Latin America, the Portuguese crown required the peasantry to devote labor time for public works projects. The free labor time for the crown varied from one to three days a week. Considering the conditions the peasantry were subjected to, it is no surprise that when given the opportunity there has "always been a tendency for workers to drift away from the land" in Portugal.³¹

The nobility in Portugal comprised a very diverse class. Included in its ranks were the clergy as well as representatives from the royal court. In the midst of this heterogeneity were two categories of nobles. There were those whose status was ascribed, the *fidalgo-cavaleiro* whose social position was dictated by birthright; and there were the *cavaleiro-fidalgos*, who had achieved distinction through service, mostly military, to the royal court. An important distinction between the two was that the former owned land through inheritance but the latter, while possessing honorary titles, had little material means to consolidate this status. Nevertheless, the bestowment of titles was an important mechanism for the mobilization of soldiers to fight in the periodic wars with neighboring Castille. Once titles are granted, however, they need to be given concrete meaning. For this reason, the *cavaleiro-fidalgos* were to play an important role in Portuguese colonial history, for

³¹ Trend, (1957), 114.

beginning with the colonization of Madeira and the Açores, concessions went to this "titled" group "who settled their retainers on the islands."³²

In the cities and at the rural fairs economic activity was mediated by a merchant class. The intervention of this class in the affairs that were the traditional domain of others (most specifically the nobility) produced the expected friction. Many of the merchants were of foreign origin and class differences were masked in ethnic discrimination. Trend writes that crown charters protected Jewish and Muslim merchants and the "fine for molesting them was put at 60 shillings."³³ The Portuguese crown which through the Middle Ages had limited the power of the commercial class was also dependent on merchant business because their activity generated important revenues. The merchants were the intermediaries who brought the spices and gold from North Africa and who conducted the King's business in the manufacturing centers. Marques writes that the commercial representatives from northern Europe in Portugal during the beginning of the thirteenth century were small in comparison with the number of Portuguese that were serving as agents abroad.³⁴ Castro argues that this class did not become relevant in the Portuguese economy until the end of the fifteenth century.³⁵ The processes, however, that firmly ensured this relevance were already underway in the latter part of the fourteenth century. What was to signal the ascendancy of the commercial strata was the demise of the agents that historically had curtailed its growth--the landowning class.

³² H. Livermore, "Portuguese History," *Portugal and Brazil: An Introduction*, (London, 1953).

³³ Trend, (1957: 86).

³⁴ Marques, (1983), 164.

³⁵ Castro, (1981), 295.

At the top of this hierarchy of class interests sat the members of the royal court. The king of Portugal, while a large landowner in his own right, had other economic details that also demanded his attention. He needed legitimacy through religion, so catering to the wishes of the Pope in Rome was always a primary concern. Through the Papal Bulls, the Pope designated sovereignty of territory and resolved disputes between the perennially feuding polities under his jurisdiction. One of the best examples of intervention by Rome is the Treaty of Tordesillas, which in the New World gave Portugal rights to Brazil while the rest of Latin America was given to Spain. The King also encouraged trade with other European polities and signed numerous treaties to ensure that merchants were able to travel unmolested so commodities could safely reach their destinations. For example, Dom Dinis (1279-1325), the Portuguese King before the plague, signed treaties with the British court "to obtain safe-conducts for Portuguese merchants in England and offering reciprocal rights."³⁶ As we will see below, the royal court offered protection—some of it symbolic but much of it strategic—to the feudal lords, but from the middle of the fourteenth century its interests lay primarily with the merchant class.

The bubonic plague arrived in Portugal in 1348 and it killed quickly with no recognition of class boundaries. The "Black Death" reduced the Portuguese population by at least one-third and led to an unprecedented rural exodus—the growth rates of Lisbon, Coimbra and Silves were phenomenal. Marques reports that the exact figures for urban growth are unavailable, but he mentions that there is considerable architectural evidence for this period that indicates rapid growth. There was a new wall built in Lisbon, a wall

³⁶ Livermore, (1966).

"which contained 103 hectares, six times the area walled in in the twelfth century." This growth rate is all the more remarkable when one considers the reduction in population in the rural sector in the latter part of the fourteenth century and early part of the fifteenth century. Besides the "Black Death", other plagues occurred in 1356, 1384, 1415, 1423, 1432, 1435, 1437-38 and 1458.³⁷ Livermore, citing the royal *cortes* of 1377, writes that "many former labourers and stock-raisers had sold up and become hucksters and merchants and had ceased 'to work and make things'."³⁸ And the ranks of the nobility were also diminished by the plague. Trend, in a manner highly reminiscent of how depopulation affected the Northwest coast societies in the new world, explains that "the rich were richer than before, through the accumulation of inheritances due to deaths from plague."³⁹ The plague aggravated tensions and increased hostilities between the European royal families. The King of Castile, Alfonso XI, was one of its victims and the court of Castile was unsettled when Pedro the son of his Portuguese queen claimed the throne. The tension that this caused, in combination with the conflict over the Canaries, would culminate in a number of wars with Castille through the latter part of the fourteenth century. Castro remarks that even in the late fifteenth century, the Portuguese crown was still attempting to extend agricultural production "to lands which had been abandoned one hundred and twenty-five years before."⁴⁰

In the rural sector there were shortages of even basic foodstuffs, like bread, which contributed to wide-scale hunger and periodic famine. The lack

³⁷ Marques, (1983), 190.

³⁸ Livermore, (1966), 97.

³⁹ Trend, (1957), 124.

⁴⁰ Castro, (1985), 34.

of food continued to force peasants into the cities. Some historians, who Castro would call the "neo-Malthusians", have conventionally argued that the "Black Death" led to greater demands for higher wages.⁴¹ For this period, it must be understood that demands for increases in wages reflected rises in the cost of living. What was determinate at this point in time was that the feudal landlords did not have the means to induce the peasantry to remain on the land. So Coelho rightly criticizes writers who place undue emphasis on the relationship between high salaries and a shortage of labor as a contributing factor for the revolution of 1383-1385.⁴² But this transient labor force served as an influential force in another way; they increased the power of the emerging mercantilist class by providing them with the means, through the deployment of their labor, to increase profits and challenge the feudal lords. The social disadjustment furnished enough soldiers and adventurers for the various wars with Castille (1369-97), the expansion in the fifteenth century in North Africa and for the great voyages of maritime discovery.⁴³

One of the advantages of the rural exodus for the Portuguese economy was the availability of labor for other pursuits. Although the Portuguese were proficient slave traders by the middle of the fifteenth century, how much of this labor was used within Portugal has not been thoroughly researched. Wolf argues that much of it was destined for Portugal where "they furnished a new source of bound labor."⁴⁴ The Portuguese king gained revenues from the sale of slave labor and it is doubtful that he was willing to

⁴¹ Castro, (1981).

⁴² A. Coelho, *A Revolução de 1383*. (Lisbon, 1975).

⁴³ Marques, (1983), 190.

⁴⁴ Wolf, (1982), 111.

sacrifice profit to shore up the declining feudal sector. From Boxer's remarks on the state of Portugal's infrastructure, there seemed to be little opportunity for profit in this area and the introduction of large-scale slave labor would have been a substantial investment. Marques writes:

From Portugal, a great number, the majority perhaps , were then profitably sold to Castille, Aragon, and other European countries, only a part being employed in the sugar plantations (as well as in other agricultural or domestic) of Madeira and Portugal.⁴⁵

In conjunction with depopulation, there was a corresponding crisis in the agrarian sector. Marques writes that the price of cereal grains, on which Portugal depended to meet its constantly rising trade deficit as well as feed its own population, continued to decline until 1470.⁴⁶ This further reduced the incentive to grow cereals. Products exported from Portugal during the periods of "crisis" were figs, raisins, salt, wine, oil and honey.⁴⁷ According to Wolf, the growth of a merchant class regulated the flow of these commodities: "foreign merchants came to play a strategic role in managing the economy."⁴⁸ Most of the produce went to Flanders, with which Portugal had well-established trade relations--relations that were reinforced through a series of royal weddings.⁴⁹ The decline in agricultural production seriously undermined this trade relationship, and the royal court and an emerging merchant class in the cities were already engaged in the search for substitutes to both expand trade and meet the deficit.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Marques, (1976), 159.

⁴⁶ Marques, (1983), 194.

⁴⁷ V. Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, (Lisbon, 1983).

⁴⁸ Wolf, (1982), 114.

⁴⁹ Serrão, (1980).

⁵⁰ Godinho, (1983).

To compensate for the shortage of labor in rural areas, production in the agricultural sector shifted to less labor intensive activity. Wine and olives became prominent exports, as these two commodities only required seasonal labor. A change in agricultural productive strategy, however, was not enough to curb the spiraling trade deficit. The impact of this deficit on the Portuguese economy is reflected in the rate of inflation: where one *marco* had the value of 19 Portuguese *libras* in 1325, by 1435 one *marco* was worth 25,000 *libras*. Some writers relate the trade deficit to a monetary crisis, but serious devaluations of Portuguese currency did not begin until after 1350.⁵¹

On one hand, Portugal's economy continued to be based on the export of agricultural produce. Many merchants invested their profits in land which reinforced this sector. The Portuguese king sympathized with the feudal lords and instituted a series of laws, *Leis das Sesmarias*, that set a parity for the price of labor in the urban and rural sectors, and initiated a passport system through which the movement of labor could be controlled.⁵² Trend cites the preamble for the *Leis das Sesmarias* and it demonstrates that the royal court was well aware of the extent of the crisis in the agricultural sector.

That in all parts of the kingdom there is a shortage of wheat and barley, that prices have greatly risen, that labour is inefficient, that lands and estates which were once cultivated and sown and are good for bread and for other products to maintain the population, are now waste and desolate; all owners shall be constrained to work them and sow them, either for themselves or for another so that all lands capable of bearing wheat, barley or millet shall be used.⁵³

⁵¹ Marques, (1983), 196.

⁵² Ibid., 192.

⁵³ Trend, (1957), 115-116.

How closely these statutes were enforced is not clear, but some historians point to the revolts of 1383-85 as a reaction to the institution of these laws. A curious inclusion in the law is that it makes the ownership of land conditional on tillage. Since those who owned the land were few in number, and their ability to till and cultivate difficult because of the shortage of labor, the law was apparently directed at the old feudal order. The introduction of the law in itself points to continuing fragmentation in the feudal order. The royal court was the body that united the disparate feudal barons, and without the protection of the royal court there was no centralized mechanism for the extraction of surplus value.

Chaos reigned in the rural sector in the latter part of the fourteenth century and it is difficult to perceive how the feudal lords survived, nevermind maintained control over their most viable resource. Trend writes about the 1383-85 revolution in the following manner:

Whenever they could, they avenged themselves with the utmost violence; in the country there was complete anarchy and in Lisbon much looting. In the villages the best and most honored men went in peril of their lives and were often robbed of all that they possessed. Some fled to the towns which, in the emergency, had declared for the King of Castille; others abandoned Portugal altogether, leaving their lands and goods to be taken over by the Master, who gave land to any who asked for it.⁵⁴

In the fifteenth century, the king of Portugal was in desperate need of foreign exchange, and since there were now diminishing returns in the agricultural sector, the King himself became heavily involved in commercial activity. In order to diffuse the rising power of the mercantile class, the King

⁵⁴ Ibid., 125.

attempted to diminish the power of merchants by decentralizing the economy and moving some of the trade south to Lagos in the Algarve.⁵⁵ But overall, the King looked favorably on mercantile activity and supported it both financially and logistically.⁵⁶ Ship-builders who built ships larger than 100 tons were allowed free access to the King's forests. For first voyages no duty was charged and an insurance system was put into effect that compensated merchants for ships that were lost at sea.⁵⁷

The Portuguese, by this time, were already well versed in the nuances of international trade. There were many foreign traders in Lisbon and Oporto and these commercial agents were heavily involved in the spice, slave and gold trade. Merchants were already serving as intermediaries in the export of spices from Morocco to Flanders and were eager to expand this trade when spices were brought directly from the "far-east."⁵⁸ Consequently, Ceuta, which was the gateway to Africa and a meeting ground for merchants of all nationalities, was becoming increasingly important as a trade center. Godinho lists the various merchants in Ceuta as coming from Barbaria, Ethiopia, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and India.⁵⁹

Maritime Activity and Territorial Expansion

Eric Wolf writes that "the expansion of Europe overseas began with a minor event in 1415: the seizure by the Portuguese of the Muslim port of Ceuta."⁶⁰ The control of the port of Ceuta, however, was not of minor

⁵⁵ Godinho, (1983), 204.

⁵⁶ Cortesão, (1973).

⁵⁷ Livermore, (1966).

⁵⁸ Godinho, (1983), 183.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Wolf, (1982), 129.

consequence to the Portuguese. During the period following the conquest of Ceuta, access to the spice trade was periodically obstructed. Primarily, the spices that could be obtained through the "old silk road" had to come through the other Mediterranean countries.⁶¹ Magdoff cites two other obstacles to the spice trade: the blockade by the Ottoman Empire which seized Constantinople in 1453 and blocked the trade routes to the east; and the control of trade by Asian and African merchants.⁶² Also, Arab nomads routinely attacked caravans going to and from Constantinople, further disrupting the trade.⁶³

Following the conquest of Ceuta, Portugal internally enjoyed a period of prosperity and tranquility. The Portuguese traders used this time to their advantage. The Infante Dom Henrique sent ships further south along the African coast with each voyage and they brought back increasing amounts of gold and numbers of slaves. The royal court was content for its members were making a handsome profit taxing the highly lucrative activities of the merchants. Traders in slaves and gold had to be licensed by the Infante to whom reverted one fifth of all profits.⁶⁴ Articles such as precious stones and ivory had to be sold directly to the king. The existence of these royal monopolies might be interpreted as further indicators that the mercantile strata never broke free from feudal control. But the merchants, while to a large extent under the jurisdiction of the royal crown, benefitted enormously from advances in Portuguese nautical science which allowed them access to new commodities and a greater competitive advantage. If the royal court was

⁶¹ P. Malanima, "Pisa and the Trade Routes to the Middle East in the Late Middle Ages," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 16, no. 2, (1987).

⁶² H. Magdoff, "Imperialism: A Historical Survey," *Introduction to the Sociology of Developing Societies*, H. Alavi and T. Shanin (eds.), (New York, 1982), 13.

⁶³ Godinho, (1983).

⁶⁴ Boxer, (1969).

ruthlessly exploiting the merchants, so many foreign merchants would not have come to Lisbon to conduct trade. Even relations that appear to be exploitive can be mutually advantageous.

Although Ceuta only proved to be a temporary solution, it established Portugal's dependence on commodity exchange. By the latter part of the fifteenth century, when the supply of spices was decreasing and those available were more expensive, the Portuguese court was already trying to procure direct avenues to the source of the spices. Well before Bartolomeu Dias returned in 1488 and announced that a way to India was possible by sea, the Portuguese court had sent emissaries to the far-east.⁶⁵ Thus, the seizure of Ceuta set in motion a series of events that would establish the Portuguese colonial presence in Asia for the next century and a half. But more importantly, it crystallized a pattern that would become a distinguishing feature in Portuguese economic history. As commodity traders, the Portuguese were constantly subjected to the boom/bust cycles of the World Economy.⁶⁶ It is this interplay of commercial vis-à-vis agricultural relations that represents a turning point in Portuguese history.

The discovery and colonization of the archipelagos of Madeira and the Açores in the first half of the fifteenth century provided more fertile territory to expand agricultural production, albeit much of it for the purpose of export. The Azorean Islands of Santa Maria and São Miguel were colonized for wheat production, while the islands of Madeira and Porto Santo were reserved for the cultivation of sugar cane, both profitable export crops in the fifteenth century. While the land on these islands was "donated" to *cavaleiro-fidalgos*

⁶⁵ Cortesão, (1973).

⁶⁶ C. Prado Junior, *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*, (Berkeley, 1967).

who had some influence in the Portuguese court, the actual settlers to the islands were attracted through promises of favorable working conditions and exemption from taxation. Marques notes that the *donatarios* in the island colonies attempted to recreate the social universe of the old order. The system of labor relations that had broken down because of environmental and demographic factors during the last century in Portugal, "functioned" quite well initially in the fertile islands.⁶⁷ But while the social relations were feudal in character, the productive activity of the colonial economies was defined by larger economic processes.⁶⁸

The economic priorities of the Portuguese crown had shifted from the support of the feudal gentry to seeking out new means to balance the trade deficit. Despite the involvement of the nobility and the crown in merchant enterprise, the old system of social identification was still retained. Social status was based on the acquisition of titles, and the ownership of land and money obtained through involvement in trade activities was quite frequently invested in acquiring these social prerequisites. The fifteenth century in Portugal is a transitional era and the most adequate way to conceptualize a transitional form is to see it as a synthesis of the old and the new and not as two distinctive entities. The Portuguese system of social identification remained feudal in character but the economic program of the Portuguese crown was related to actively supporting mercantile expansion.

⁶⁷ Marques, (1976), 154.

⁶⁸ S. Bagú, *Economía de la Sociedad Colonial: Ensayo de Historia Comparada de América Latina*, (Buenos Aires, 1949).

European Feudalism

The above argument rests on the assumption that the Portuguese variant of feudalism went through certain changes following population decline in the late fourteenth century. To understand the significance of these changes it is useful to review briefly how certain writers have recently defined feudal relations on the European continent.

Feudalism is an elusive construct that in different contexts can refer to a variety of situations. One of the most immediate problems with feudalism is that it is an ideal type—a system of land tenure that in its most complete and perfect form typified social relations in north central Europe through the Middle Ages until the industrial revolution. A discussion of feudalism is also complicated by the fact that neither Marx nor Engels ever provided a coherent description of feudal society. In the journal, *Marxism, Communism and Western Society*, the editors list the following characteristics of feudal society:

- 1) feudal lords allow producers access to the means of production and through social and political mechanisms bind the producers to the land.
- 2) the producer is dependent on the feudal lord for survival.
- 3) a low standard of productive technology in agriculture and trade.
- 4) commodities are circulated through barter exchange.

Using the above criteria, productive relations in the rural sector in Portugal during the early fourteenth century were feudal in that the system of land tenure was a form of usufruct that allowed tenants access to the means of production in exchange for a payment of kind to the feudal lord.⁶⁹ The

⁶⁹ Marques, (1983).

problem with extending this definition to Portugal in the latter part of the fourteenth century, is that labour was no longer bound to the feudal estates.

Both Wolf and Amin use the construct "tributary mode", as preferable to feudal, to describe the above social configuration of landowners and tenants.⁷⁰ Wolf defines the tributary mode as a general type with different historical manifestations known variously as the Asiatic or feudal modes. Under tributary relations a peasant is given "access to the means of production, while tribute is extracted from him by political or military means."⁷¹ Many of the ideas for the tributary mode are based on the work of Karl Wittfogel who, in *Oriental Despotism*, outlined the evolution of tributary relations in early China between the decline of the Chou dynasty (500-250 B.C.) and the appearance of the Ch'in dynasty (221-207 B.C.).⁷² Many Marxists now use this as an example that tributary relations arose, not through coercive power, but through the recognition of common strategic interests.⁷³ Dispersed populations, through common consensus, elected an administrative class to oversee the large irrigation works that were being built to allocate water. In time, representatives of this strata realized their control over this strategic resource, turned "despotic", and demanded a larger share of tribute. This control of a strategic resource, argues Wolf, is a crucial factor in the maintenance of the tributary mode.

Although Wolf argues that tributary relations were maintained throughout Europe as a whole until the mid-eighteenth century, and that mercantilism was only a phase in the "pre-history" of capitalism, it is difficult

⁷⁰ Amin, (1980); Wolf, (1982).

⁷¹ Wolf, (1982), 80.

⁷² Ibid., 52-53.

⁷³ M. Godelier, "Infrastructures, Societies and History," *Current Anthropology*, (1978), Vol. 19 (4); Amin (1980).

to extend this analysis to Portugal. Foremost, there was no real strategic resource for the feudal lords to control in Portugal, except for land and labor. Wolf, himself, refers to environmental limitations in Portugal: "much of the land is too steep or stony to be cultivated at all, rainfall is scant and irregular, and crops are consequently meager."⁷⁴ With the loss of agricultural labor due to depopulation following the onset of the Black Death in 1348, the value of land must have decreased.⁷⁵ While Wolf reports that it was "the alliance of state and merchants that made possible the ascendancy of Portugal" in mercantile activity, he does not recognize that the reason for this alliance was the fragmentation of social relations in the rural sector.⁷⁶ The ascendancy of a mercantile class was due to the decline in agricultural productive activity: a decline directly attributable to a socio-agricultural crisis due to depopulation; the necessity of finding other economic resources to meet the trade deficit;⁷⁷ and a rural population, freed from the constraints of feudal production and "socially mobile", which took advantage of new economic opportunities. The *povo*, those who took part in the rural exodus, were the people who participated in the voyages of discovery and played an important role in the transition to mercantilism.

According to Amin, European feudalism was, in actuality, a "primitive" form of tributary production. Using an evolutionary framework, Amin writes that in the European variant of feudalism, social relations were never consolidated or homogeneous like they were in Asia and the Middle East. European feudalism was characterized by diversity—a diversity that was

⁷⁴ Wolf, (1982), 110.

⁷⁵ Marques, (1983).

⁷⁶ Wolf, (1982), 118.

⁷⁷ Marques, (1983); Godinho, (1983).

reinforced by external trade relations and their interconnectedness with more "barbaric" forms of production. As a result, Amin argues that European feudalism lacked a centralized means of surplus extraction, and competing mercantile interests were able to expand (i.e., early colonialism). Also, Amin points to the continuing fragmentation of feudal relations, and how the absence of concrete class interests promoted peasant demands in the receipt of payments of kind, and later money. Amin's analysis is applicable to fourteenth century Portugal because both the absence of a unifying force to extract tribute, and the intensification of demands by the peasantry led to an increase in commercial activity. But the peasantry in Portugal would not have been able to freely sell their labor if their socio-economic position had not been fortified by the social upheaval that resulted from a decline in population in the agrarian sector.

Sergio Bagú, an Argentine historian, has presented an analysis of Portuguese society where he argues that feudal relations in Portugal, as well as Spain, had been severely weakened as a result of the Islamic occupation and the subsequent wars to expel the Moors.⁷⁸ Consequently, the royal court in Portugal had much more power than similar kingdoms in other parts of Europe. But the Moors had been expelled from Portugal in 1248, so while the feudal gentry had lost considerable power through the Islamic occupation, they were still a dominant force in agrarian economics in the middle of the fourteenth century, one hundred years later. McAlister writes that after the reconquest, "through the division of vast territories won, lords of both ancient lineage and new creation acquired *senhorial* domains of

⁷⁸ S. Bagú, (1949); J. Baechler, in *The Origins of Capitalism*, (Oxford, 1975) argues that the state is essential for the organization of productive activity and thus those states with more centralized control were more successful internationally.

unprecedented size and became known as *ricos hombres*.⁷⁹ What is important about Bagú's argument is that he exposes an inherent weakness in the Portuguese feudal order. Because of the fragmentation of Portuguese society, the *senhorial* lords could not rely on the royal armies to help them control the peasantry in times of crisis.

This brings us to another critical factor in the maintenance of the tributary mode; this factor is the continuing control of the strategic resource necessary for its reproduction. For this the tributary lords depend on military or other coercive mechanisms. But Amin writes that "tribute can never be extracted solely by means of violence: some social consensus is necessary."⁸⁰ It was not in the best interests of either the Portuguese royalty or the peasantry to support the feudal gentry who had little economic or political power at this point in history. But, nonetheless, Wolf asserts that tributary relations were predominant throughout Europe until the first part of the eighteenth century when the advent of the "industrial revolution" led to the transformation to capitalist relations of production.⁸¹

In summary, the rising prominence of mercantile activity can be related to a decline in the agricultural sector during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It would seem unlikely that Portugal would have achieved the colonial stature it did through three successive stages of "empire building", if, as Wolf maintains, its economy depended primarily on tribute extraction. Under tributary relations the subservient population's labor is more or less trapped, and it would be impossible to explain the high rates of

⁷⁹ McAlister, (1984), 29.

⁸⁰ Amin, (1980), 52.

⁸¹ Wolf, (1982) refers to the ecological and demographic factors that contributed to the "crisis of feudalism" in the fourteenth century but he argues that the "tribute takers" response to this crisis was to increase surplus extraction, 108.

out-migration from Portugal since colonial expansion began from this perspective. Adherence to a tributary explanation prevents one from understanding the true role of the Portuguese as traders or mercantilists. True, at the start of the 14th century the Portuguese system of production can be described as tributary. But because of price fluctuations of agricultural goods, population decline and environmental limitations, there was a transformation in Portugal and the new emphasis was mercantilism.

Wolf explains how mercantile activity may become predominant:

Granted to much latitude, it can render whole classes of tributary lords dependent upon trade, and reshuffle social priorities to favor merchants over political or military chiefdoms.⁸²

In Portugal, merchant trade did replace tributary production. The demise of tributary relations in Portugal are linked to environmental and demographic factors. The peasantry in fourteenth century Portugal, because of disease and scarcity of resources, were recruited by the mercantilists who used this resource to their advantage.

This expansion would take on another dimension with the discovery of Madeira during one of the early voyages along the African coast. The colonization of this uninhabited frontier in 1425 represented a turning point in Portuguese labor history. The Portuguese imported white slaves to Madeira to work the sugar plantations, but alongside the slaves worked settlers from Portugal.⁸³ On the Azores slaves represented only a small fraction of the labor force, as it was migrants from Portugal and Flanders who

⁸² Wolf, (1982), 84.

⁸³ S. Greenfield, (1977).

settled and cultivated the land and grew the cash crops that the Portuguese crown needed for revenues to balance the trade deficit.

THE COLONIZATION OF THE AZORES: THE ORIGINS OF A WAY OF LIFE

Where in the previous chapter I outlined the growth of mercantile activity in Portugal, in this chapter I turn to the impact that the increased circulation of trade goods had on productive activity in certain regions. While much of the material that I introduce in this chapter is specifically related to the influence of merchant capital on productive activity in the Azores, the implications of the argument loom on a larger horizon. The settlement of the Azores must be understood within the context of trends in the general European economy. The commodities that were produced on the islands were in demand on the European market and their circulation increased the influence of merchant capital in the region. The exchange of these commodities allowed the Portuguese, in part, to meet some of the demands of the growing trade deficit with the northern manufacturing regions.

Again, central to the discussion is the role of labor in the production of these commodities on the Azores. What theoretical category do the laborers who grew and manufactured pastel and cultivated wheat as cash crops for sale on the market fall into? Takahashi lists the three general Marxian categories

of labor power as slavery, serfdom and free labor.¹ Although anthropologists would supplement these categories with kin-order forms of labor, for the purpose of this discussion Takahaschi's list provides a useful frame of reference. As I attempt to demonstrate in both this chapter and the two to follow, the type of labor mobilization that allowed merchant capital to dictate the production of cash crops on the Azores does not categorically fall neatly into the above categories. Azoreans during the growth of merchant enterprise were not serfs in the sense that the "exploitation of the producer by virtue of direct politico-legal compulsion" was necessary to extract surplus value on the islands.² If, however, one identifies Azorean labor as proletariat labor additional problems surface. For instance, Wolf maintains that the capitalist mode of production as defined by Marx involved more than a relationship between the social deployment of labor and market expansion. The birth of capitalist enterprise had a technical component and labor relations under capitalist enterprise need to be phrased in terms of the interaction between "wealth, human energy and tools."³

In regard to the role that human labor played on the Azores during the period of merchant expansion, the above labor categories are extremely troublesome. On a theoretical level, the settlers who arrived in the Azores most accurately fit the description of a migrant labor force. The majority of the laborers who came to the Azores came not as indentured servants or slaves but as free laborers. The settlers migrated from one economic region to another in the hope that their livelihoods would be improved through this

¹ H. Takahashi, "A Contribution to the Discussion," *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, R. Hilton (ed), (New York, 1967), 31.

² M. Dobb, cited in H. Takahashi, "A Contribution to the Discussion," *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*, R. Hilton (ed), (New York, 1967), 32.

³ Wolf, (1982), 298.

change in locale. Since other forms of labor appropriation such as slavery or indentureship were not operative devices in luring labor to the islands, other types of mechanisms that facilitated labor recruitment must have existed for this labor movement to occur.

This chapter sets the stage for an understanding of the types of labor relations that existed on the Azores, and to a certain extent still persist today, during the merchant phase of capitalist enterprise on the islands. To explain how merchant capital directed production on the islands I examine the role of merchants in pre-capitalist economies to delineate the differences between merchants who simply act as mediums in the transference of resources and those who actively engage in the process of production itself. Beginning with a discussion of general trade, I argue that the patterns of trade under colonial expansion were qualitatively different than patterns of exchange of earlier historical periods. For merchant capitalism to expand to the extent that it did in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, sizable inputs of human labor were required; a union of capital and labor that would have been highly unlikely if the peasantry, at least on the Iberian peninsula, was bound by feudal constraints.

The Atlantic Islands

The colonization of the Atlantic archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores commenced in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the beginning, on both the Madeiras and the Azores, it was natural dyes that would provide the linkage between local production and the larger continental market. By 1456, on the principal island of Madeira, sugar cane was becoming an important crop and was replacing dyes as the primary export to Flanders. But in the Azores dyes continued to be an economic mainstay until the middle of

the seventeenth century when the reverberations from the "second crisis of feudalism" brought an end to this trade.⁴ While dyes and sugar cane defined the archipelagos' articulation with the northern European market, both the Azores and Madeira provided cereal grains for internal consumption for the continental Portuguese population.⁵

Structurally, social relations typical of feudal tenure were installed on the Atlantic islands. But the archipelagos, while their social composition appeared to resemble feudal fiefdoms, had another dynamic that demonstrated that the economic and political realities of a bygone era had outlived their usefulness. Or as Wallerstein writes, large landed estates "might have originated as feudal grants, they were soon transformed into capitalist enterprises."⁶ Under feudal tenure, as I defined it in the previous chapter, surplus is expropriated by political means and not through market dictates. All evidence for the Atlantic Islands, however, points to their almost total domination by market forces.

The two Atlantic archipelagos seem to collectively represent what Wolf categorizes as an early "capitalist pocket"--where market activity prevailed and governed productive relations; and where human labor was explicitly used for the purposes of capital accumulation.⁷ A recurring problem in Marxian analysis has been how to describe labor that was used to further the interests of capitalist enterprise yet was not fully proletarianized.⁸ The traditional explanation, for the Azores, has been that the Portuguese simply

⁴ Hobsbawn, (1954); A. G. Frank *World Accumulation 1492-1789*, (New York, 1978).

⁵ Marques, (1983).

⁶ Wallerstein, (1974), 93.

⁷ Wolf, (1982); Frank, (1978).

⁸ Wallerstein, (1982). see, also Mintz (1977).

settled slave labor on the Atlantic islands.⁹ There was slavery on the Azores but the islands never had a classical plantation economy and slave labor, when used, was only deployed sporadically. Part of the confusion about the system of labor deployment on the Azores can be attributed to the tendency of historians to talk about the Madeiras and the Azores as a collective unit, thereby presenting a homogeneity to the island groups that in actuality does not exist. On Madeira, slave labor was used on the sugar plantations, but as with sugar cane which was not considered climatically suitable for the Azores, the labor system that served as a counter-part for this commodity was also never fully deployed in the Azores. The historical documents provide no evidence for wide-scale slavery and slaves only represented a small fraction of the resident Azorean population. From the outset, labor on the Azores was predominantly European.¹⁰

What sort of system of labor relations existed then on the Azores and how was this labor mobilized and rewarded through its interaction with market devices? Should labor under mercantilism be regarded as similar to that of labor under feudal tenure where a surplus was generated that fueled the consumption patterns of a landed class and serfs were allowed to retain a portion of what they produced for subsistence purposes? Or should it be considered proletariat labor where the value of labor was directly determined by market dictates? This distinction is important for the Azores because the people who settled on the islands were part of a migratory labor force who were brought to a new frontier of economic expansion. A discussion of how this labor was used under mercantile relations is, therefore, necessary to

⁹ Wolf, (1982).

¹⁰ Marques, (1983).

illustrate the relationship between market forces, productive relations and migratory patterns. For it is market demand and its articulation with the productive process that has characterized the cyclical patterns of out-migration from the islands. As market value for Azorean commodities has declined, there has been a historical tendency for Azorean labor to migrate to new regions of economic expansion.

In the literature on European history, there are two conflicting positions on the socio-economic status of the peasantry in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. There is a literature that sees the peasantry, freed from the shackles of feudal tenure, as a mobile labor force moving away from agricultural production towards secondary manufacturing activity in urban areas. Then, there is another literature, which argues that the above depiction of historical events presents the "classic capitalist profile", but that the theorists who forward this view are three to four centuries premature in their analysis.¹¹

The historical measurement for those who hold the latter view is the time period when labor, wealth (capital) and technology formed an interactive mix. The historical marker, that these writers argue for when this mix first occurred, is the industrial revolution. In the following section I examine the relationship between the above variables and attempt to show that merchant capital can transform labor power to its own advantage without corresponding advances in technological development.

¹¹ For the perspective on the individualization of the peasantry, see D. Grigg, *Population Growth and Agrarian Change*, (London, 1980). For the critique of this position see Worsley (1984). Also see Dobb, (1967) and his critique of Paul Sweezy.

Mercantilism: Money begetting Money, or Capitalism?

Throughout the course of human history people have moved from area to area, but the migratory patterns established with the onset of European economic expansion had a different dynamic than previous population movements. Although the earliest hominids (the australopithecines), were confined to Africa, the hominids on the next branch of the phyletic tree, those belonging to the species *Homo erectus*, had somehow reached China and Indonesia. *Homo erectus* was obviously a well seasoned traveler. But traveling during the paleolithic was done on foot and the reasons for these travels are adequately explained by the biological paradigm. Evolutionary process and diversification of species forced differentiating populations into new niches—a process evolutionists refer to as displacement theory. Early human populations had to wait for a land bridge to appear across the Bering Strait before entering the New World from Siberia. According to archaeologists, the "first Americans" did not have the technology or the locomotor skills to transverse this formidable stretch of water without the aid of nature; they required a land bridge over the Bering straight before they could venture into the New World. The pattern of travel in prehistoric times was dictated by environmental potentials and the most common form of locomotion was by foot. As these early human societies "migrated" they no doubt came into contact with other groups. Members of these prehistoric societies in all probability had considerable interaction with each other; this interaction taking the form of establishing alliances and cementing these social bonds through the reciprocal exchange of mates and trade goods. The practise of exchange and the circulation of resources, therefore, were already well embedded in human societies even in prehistoric times. The predominant feature of social life was kinship through which resources were

allocated and their flow regulated--a process Lévi-Strauss refers to as "direct exchange".¹²

Early explorers and traders traveled by ship throughout the Mediterranean and the area of Southern Asia to consolidate trade relations and many traders remained on foreign soils to conduct business.¹³ So even before European expansion there were extensive commercial connections between Asia and Europe. The commodities were moved by traders who were specialists and whose primary activity was the movement of resources. These commercial agents derived their profits by "buying cheap and selling dear".¹⁴ They moved commodities from areas where supply was abundant to areas where the demand was great. In India there are still ethnic markers that indicate considerable trade specialization. Jew Town in Cochin, a small city in the southern Indian state of Kerala, is one such example. When an emissary of the Portuguese court arrived in Cochin in 1477 he was met by a merchant who greeted him in Spanish.¹⁵ Wallerstein writes that "such clusters, however large, were a minor part of the total economy and not fundamentally determinative of its fate."¹⁶ But these types of traders did not disappear with the advent of capitalism. In New York City today, traders from Lagos, Nigeria frustrate Fifth Avenue merchants by setting up stalls in front of prominent department stores. Air travel has simplified life for these traders and many fly to the United States to sell watches and African and Asian scarves and purchase electronic goods for resale in Nigeria. Their stay in the United States is sometimes as short as a week-end. These traders, as

¹² C. Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, (Boston, 1969).

¹³ Frank, (1978).

¹⁴ Wolf, (1982).

¹⁵ Cortesão, (1973).

¹⁶ Wallerstein, (1982), 32.

Marx put forth, are selling commodities for money to purchase more commodities for resale (C-M-C).¹⁷ The popular flea markets of the United States and Europe are focal points for this type of commercial activity.

The Moors, united under the Berbers in north Africa, crossed the Straights of Gibraltar by ship in their conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. The Islamic empire was expansive and there was large scale movement of commodities throughout Asia, the Middle East and Europe before its decline. Even after the Moors were expelled from southern Europe and the hegemony of Islam was challenged in Asia Minor by the Ottomans, the trade patterns established when Islamic expansion was in full force remained intact. But again these traders were primarily engaged in the movement of commodities, and as Wolf states were not involved in the actual process of production.¹⁸ The regulation and control of production were still dictated by kinship or tributary relations. The merchants merely served to move resources from the domain of one polity to another; and through the course of this commercial exercise they realized substantial profits. These profits as "money begetting money", however, remained outside of the process of production itself. The early Mexican "states" were connected through this form of trade. While unequal trade relations existed between tributary cities in the Valley of Mexico, such as Teotihuacan and Tenochtitlan, and their counterparts in the valley of Oaxaca and the Mayan peninsula, there is no evidence of a prevalent merchant class which dominated productive activity.¹⁹

¹⁷ K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, (New York, 1984).

¹⁸ Wolf, (1982).

¹⁹ See K. Flannery and G. Marcus, *The Cloud People: Divergent Evolution of the Zapotec and Mixtec Civilizations*, (New York, 1983).

The phenomenon of empire building also did not originate with European colonial expansion. The Mongol, Genghis Khan and various Persian and Turkish dynasties controlled large areas of Asia Minor and the Indian sub-continent; there are great architectural achievements that visibly state the influence and longevity of these early empires. Many tributary polities survived the original onslaught of colonial expansion and, in many cases, the social mechanisms that ensured resource extraction were reinforced through European contact. The Taj Mahal, in Agra, India was built by Shah Jahan, a Persian, at the height of colonial expansion in the seventeenth century. The means of surplus extraction in the colonies was conducted through tributary controls and the circulation of resources was the domain of a merchant class.²⁰ But Wallerstein, citing Karl Polanyi, argues that this type of trade is more appropriately understood in terms of administrated trade and not market trade—administrated trade being circulatory rather than interventional.²¹ The British, for example, used the pre-existing socio-hierarchical system of India to further their own means, effectively promoting certain groups and at the same time subordinating others. Spices and other commodities from the Orient were what lured the Europeans to the East and these products were readily obtained through the manipulation of existing social arrangements. It was when the colonialists set up new institutions to extract surplus, such as the establishment of tea plantations on Ceylon, and recruited labor from the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu to work these plantations, that the market became interventional and directed

²⁰ Wolf, (1982).

²¹ Wallerstein, (1982).

productive activity. The current ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka can be traced to early British and Dutch colonial policy.

Tributary and kinship systems that facilitated the transfer of resources from the local sphere to the larger global arena were in some regions reinforced through colonial expansion, but the trade networks that emerged as a consequence of this interaction had a qualitatively different dynamic than those which governed commerce under tributary production. In terms of a transitional sequence, Wallerstein sees trade as "redistributive" under tributary relations and the expansion of this trade as being characteristic of empire building polities. These polities which have traditionally been referred to as tribes in the anthropological literature, expand through warfare and conquest and coercive mechanisms are used for resource extraction.²² The transfer of commodities obtained through this means, however, are primarily governed by redistributive mechanisms. That is the traders move resources from one "port of trade" to another but have little impact on productive realities. For this reason, Wallerstein stresses the need to demarcate between "World Empires" and the "World Capitalist System". The transitional point to Wallerstein occurs when trade moves from being redistributive to being integrated into a common economic market--the "World Capitalist System".²³

Human history abounds with examples of conquest, the extraction of resources by occupying forces and the movement of commodities by traders. But European expansion slowly began to undermine traditional trade and productive patterns and this interaction between the new and the old

²² On evolutionary typologies see Steward, (1955). On a reconsideration of the concept tribe see M. Fried, *The Notion of Tribe*, (Menlo Park, 1975) and Wolf, (1982).

²³ Wallerstein, (1982).

harvested a distinctive synthesis that added a new dimension to societal interaction. The mechanisms through which commodities were transferred underwent a dramatic transformation; the role of the trader changed significantly during the early period of European colonial expansion. One can understand this new dimension in terms of scale or distance: the sheer volume of trade increased immensely; and the area through which these resources were moved transcended established routes, and in cases where old trade networks were utilized, dominated these to their own advantage. The new dynamic was the collusion of mercantile interests and that of European financial capital. Pirenne writes that "one of the most striking phenomena of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is the rapid growth of great commercial companies, each with its affiliations, correspondents and factors in different parts of the continent."²⁴ This combination of interests led to the creation of monopolistic accords to ensure access to and control of resources.

Wolf argues that this large-scale trading did not represent any real qualitative change: traders and mercantilists during the colonial era were merely engaging in the time honed activity of exchange and the coordination of the circulation of commodities.²⁵ Nations were the predominant actors in colonial expansion and traders followed in their wake. The era of early colonial expansion was characterized by the phenomenon of "money begetting money" or the simple movement of trade goods. According to Wolf money, or wealth, at this point in history is not considered capital until:

- 1) the capitalist mode of production determines distribution. For this to happen, market conditions must dictate productive activity rather than

²⁴ H. Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, (New York, 1936), 211.

²⁵ Wolf, (1982).

productive activity define exchange relations. 2) Monetary wealth is used to buy labor power. In this view, merchant capital is not real capital until it is used directly for the extraction of surplus value of labor.²⁶

Wolf concedes that under mercantilism both the above conditions of capitalist activity may develop under specific circumstances--especially through the pattern of production commonly referred to as "putting-out".²⁷ Under putting-out, the household is the unit of production, and its members produce specialized commodities which are then sold to merchants for resale. From this perspective, productive relations in the Azores in the fifteenth and sixteenth century can be described as "putting-out". But these same type of productive relations still exist in the Azores today: cattle are raised for export and the unit of specialized production remains the household or extended family. Except for the recent availability of employment in the tertiary sector, Azorean labor, in the island context, has never been proletarianized in the strict Marxist sense of the term. What Wolf's definition of putting out obscures is the relationship between the textile workers in Northern Europe, in the sixteenth century, who produced the finished cloth and the agricultural workers in the Azores who produced the primary dyestuffs--both categories of labor contributed, albeit in different aspects of the productive process, to the completion of the final piece of cloth.

Frank argues that the "putting-out" system of production was in itself instituted to increase profits in England. The old guild system, urban based, with its archaic methods, was replaced by a then more "progressive" and profitable system which was centered in the rural areas and production was

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 86-87.

localized in the domestic domain. This signified the transition from the "old draperies" to the "new draperies". The shift in labor patterns was a response to the crisis of seventeenth century feudalism and engineered so merchants could increase their profits.²⁸ This transition was at least indirectly responsible for the decline in production of pastel, a predominant Azorean cash crop in the early seventeenth century. So "putting out" was not simply something that "bordered on capitalism",²⁹ but a cost efficient response to a crisis within mercantile capitalism. The putting-out system created a situation where the direct producer controlled the means of production but "de facto became an employee of the merchant entrepreneur who controlled the producer's real income and expropriated its surplus-value."³⁰

The issue that Wolf avoids in his treatise on the development of capitalist relations--where "for labor power to be offered for sale, the tie between producers and the means of production has to be severed for good"³¹--is that different forms of productive activity can exist simultaneously and have done so throughout the history of the development of capitalism.³² The tendency to conceptualize the history of capitalist expansion using the industrial revolution in Great Britain, in the mid-eighteenth century, as a frame of reference fails to capture the historical change in social relations in "peripheral" regions. This is the argument that Frank makes when he states that underdevelopment in the periphery is a product of and contributed

²⁸ See I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and The Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750*, (New York, 1980). Also, Frank, (1978).

²⁹ Wolf, (1982), 87.

³⁰ Wallerstein, (1980), 195.

³¹ Wolf, (1982), 77.

³² See Amin, (1974).

directly to the development of the center.³³ Laclau and other mode of production theorists have convincingly pointed out that Frank's framework explicitly assumes that all productive relations have been capitalist since the sixteenth century.³⁴ But what these opponents of dependency do not take into consideration is that feudal relations of production were reinforced in some regions through their interaction with merchant capital and in other regions they were transformed through this dialog. The manner in which merchant capital impacted on productive spheres at specific historical moments was dependent on a number of factors. In the case of Eastern Europe, feudal lords were able to exert considerable political power in ensuring that the peasantry remained on the land.³⁵ Their position was thus not as easily undermined by external trade as was the position of the feudal gentry in Portugal where a feudal class survived largely in name alone. The global circulation of commodities tied together various levels of productive activity that were separated spatially but nonetheless were connected by a common thread—that thread being merchant capital.

As resources were transferred from India, Africa and the Americas, the power of the mercantilist class in Europe grew. The wealth that this class accumulated was used to create trade alliances that ensured that resources flowed along particular routes. The resources obtained in the colonies were not only for European consumption, as for example spices and sugar were. Some, such as dyes, were used in secondary production to create commodities for sale or exchange in the markets in the colonies. In order for northern European polities to be able to earn the revenues to purchase luxuries and

³³ Frank, (1966).

³⁴ Laclau, (1971).

³⁵ Davis, *The Rise of the Atlantic Economies*, (Ithaca, 1973), 18.

raw materials, they needed to produce commodities to offer in exchange. Portuguese exports, from the Azores, Madeira and Brazil, as well as commodities from other colonies, to Great Britain, stimulated manufacturing activity which lead to technological advances that would eventually result in the industrial revolution.

There is, however, a reluctance on the part of certain theorists to categorize those who participated in this trade as "capitalists" and their role in modern history is generally limited to one where they are perceived as manipulators of exchange mechanisms.³⁶ But through the course of these transfers, profits were realized, and these profits were invested to realize even greater profit. Marx's sequence of M-C-M where money was used to acquire commodities, so that "the buyer lays out money in order that, as a seller, he may recover money,"³⁷ is qualitatively different than C-M-C where commodities are exchanged for other commodities and the only purpose of money is as a medium of exchange in this transaction.³⁸ At some time, merchant capital must have been invested in ship-building and must also have been used to pay the crews for the ships. Fernand Braudel, the eminent Mediterranean historian, distinguishes between circulating and fixed capital to describe how merchant savings effected the productive process. In this view, capital was used for the same objective—that being the realization of

³⁶ Wolf, (1982); Dobb, (1947).

³⁷ K. Marx, (1984), 147.

³⁸ Marx maintained that the difference between C-M-C and M-C-M was quantitative "for M-C-M is therefore in reality the general formula of capital as it appears *prima facie* within the sphere of circulation." Ibid., 153. David McLellan, in *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought*, (1977), 291-292, suggests that Marx developed the theme in the *Grundrisse* that the activities of distribution, production, consumption and exchange were inseparable processes. The subjects of labor and surplus which provide the thematic continuity for Capital were a starting point for Marx's analysis of economy. Political commitments and personal problems prevented Marx from realizing his larger objective of integrating the themes outlined in the *Grundrisse*.

profit. Circulating capital involved a long term investment as returns were inevitably delayed because of long voyages and the disruption of these voyages through unpredictable weather and piracy. Capital accumulation, therefore, was not as great under the system of mercantile capital, as it was through the next phase of capitalist expansion, when capital became fixed and was invested in industrial activity.³⁹ Merchant capital and industrial capital represent complimentary phases of a much longer process of capital investment. The societal changes that occurred as a result of capital being invested in stationary activity, which involved the full-time incorporation of wage labor in specific regions, were much more obvious and thus have received a great deal of attention from historians who study those particular regions.⁴⁰ Labor relations, most specifically the method of labor deployment to further capital accumulation in the colonized regions, had already been transformed to accommodate market growth prior to the industrial revolution. If labor, such as the stevedore workers who unload and load ships in the Azores today, is considered proletariat labor, what would one call laborers who fulfilled this same function four hundred years ago in Bruges and Lisbon, or even London? To wait until the industrial revolution before

³⁹ F. Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce*, (New York, 1979), 242. I use the concepts fixed and circulation capital somewhat differently than Braudel. Braudel uses the terms in the same way that Marx used constant and variable capital. In terms of fixed or constant capital, investment has a longevity and is used to build "the infrastructure for human labour", Braudel (1979), 242. Circulatory or variable capital is that "which is absorbed or swallowed up in the production process." (Ibid). The distinction is important but it can also be used to demarcate the difference between mercantile and industrial capital. Mercantile capital was constant in certain instances in that it was used to build infrastructural supports, such as shipyards, that facilitated resource transfers, but in most cases it was circulatory and involved continual investment to realize a profit. The distinction here is between mercantilist or trader and what either did with profits once they were accrued. For example, were commodities simply used to purchase more commodities or did the investment in the commodity entail an attempt to break out of the cyclical pattern of antiquated trade (C-M-C) or primitive accumulation.

⁴⁰ Dobb, (1947); E. J. Hobsbaw, *Industry and Empire*, (London, 1968).

considering labor fully proletarianized is akin to stating that the only real workers throughout the history of capitalism have been those who work in textile factories. A more appropriate way to understand the industrial revolution would be that the process of labor incorporation was intensified through the development of new technology. The phenomenon of labor power for sale as a commodity does not historically begin in Great Britain, even though it was there that the whole process was ultimately refined.

Another point worth considering in this same context is a case of dependency that Wolf mentions. Wolf cites the relationship between England, as a producer of raw wool, and Flanders, as a producer of cloth, and compares the interaction of these two polities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with that of producers of raw wool in Argentina and Australia and the textile manufacturing centers of Europe and America nearly four centuries later. By drawing this comparison, Wolf at least implicitly agrees that there is some similarity in production patterns and the inequitable dialog between a polity that produces raw materials and another that turns out manufactured commodities. In both cases, the interaction between these two productive spheres was defined by a metropolis/satellite dependency.⁴¹ The growth of Flanders as a textile polity was based on the ability of merchants to successfully extract resources from the periphery in order to fuel secondary production in the center. As was the case with England and her colonies, the inequitable transfer of these resources also defined the relationship between Flanders and Portugal; the latter as an exporter of raw materials and the former as a center for the conversion of these materials into a marketable commodity.

⁴¹ Wolf, (1982), 121.

Vitorino Godinho, in *Os Descobriementos e a Economia Mundial*, outlines the extent of Portuguese trade with Flanders in the middle of the sixteenth century and his data exemplifies the dependence on Flanders as a trading partner vis-a-vis other European nations. Trade involved as much as 40,000 *quintais* of spices annually and in 1538 required 130 ships for its transport.⁴² Marques writes that the most important Portuguese trading posts were Bruges and later Antwerp.⁴³ The following list details the magnitude of the trade between Portugal and Flanders.

Table 4. 1
Portuguese Spice Trade Estimates per annum for the Second Half of the Sixteenth century

Country	<i>Quintais</i>	Tons
Flanders	30-40,000	15-2,300
England*	1,000	51-58
Spain	1,000	51-58
Morocco	2-300	10-17
Mediterranean via Gibraltar	50-100	2-5.6
France	100	5-5.8

Source: Castro (1985), 113.

* Godinho (1983), 187, lists higher figures for England for the years 1574-1576. For 1574 approximately 1,500 *quintais* and for 1576, 5,500 *quintais*.

The table above shows that the majority of Portuguese exports or re-exports, at least until the latter part of the sixteenth century, were destined for Flanders. The volume of traded goods suggests considerable capital investment in ships (both building and provisioning), and labor. There was already a great deal of trade between Flanders and Portugal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. With the colonization of Madeira in the fifteenth

⁴² Godinho, (1983), 185.

⁴³ Marques, (1983), 299.

century, sugar-cane soon became an important export to Flanders, the primary market for Madeiran sugar.⁴⁴ And with the settling of the Azores and the installation of Flemish captains on the central islands, dyes were added to the ever increasing trade list with Flanders. The extent of the trade between Flanders and Portugal must have involved more than the basic circulation of resources as market demand for these commodities must have impinged on productive activity. For this period, the trade data demonstrates that exchange routes were clearly defined, and that primary resources flowed to Flanders in exchange for manufactured commodities, mainly textiles.

The movement and production of these resources, however, required considerable labor input. The most important industries in Portugal were shipbuilding--and the Portuguese were "constant innovators" in this area--and biscuit production; the above activities "employed vast numbers of workers and required large capital."⁴⁵ One of the reasons for the rising price of basic foodstuffs in the sixteenth century was that little labor was involved in agricultural production.⁴⁶ The labor involved in primary production, based on the estimates provided in the figure below, is extremely low for a society where "manorial custom still ruled economic relationships."⁴⁷ The number of merchants and nobles also seems to be rather high for a society characterized by feudal relations. The distribution of social classes parallels the economic opportunities that must have existed on the Iberian peninsula during the first hundred years of colonial expansion.

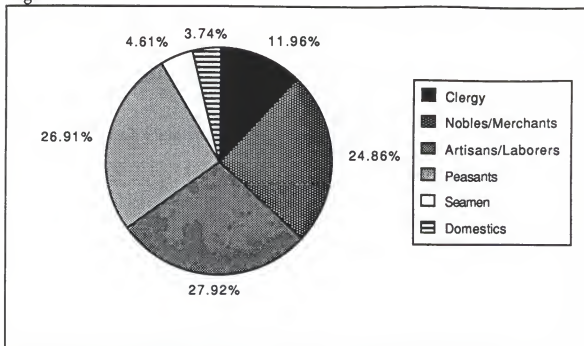
⁴⁴ S. Mintz, (1985); H. Blume, *Geography of Sugar Cane*, (Berlin, 1985), 29.

⁴⁵ Marques, (1976), 170.

⁴⁶ The traditional Malthusians argue that an increase in population growth led to food shortages that contributed to out-migration and non-agricultural specialization. See Grigg, (1980).

⁴⁷ Dobb, (1967), 26.

Figure 4. 1



Socio-Economic Categories from 1571-1586 on the Iberian Peninsula

Source: V. Godinho, (1975), 104.

Mercantilists in the sixteenth century were not confined to national space and moved their capital to new frontiers of investment throughout Europe and the colonized areas. One gets the impression when historians speak of the Dutch Indian Company or the East Indian Company that royal courts and national interests directed this trade. True, much of the trade was conducted under the auspices of territorial flags and the power of the state cannot be precluded in an understanding of colonial expansion, but the process of "empire building" rested on the ability to attract capital to undertake this expansion. Those who held much of the capital during the early period of colonial expansion were the mercantilists. State and mercantile interests conflicted throughout the course of colonial history, and the state attempted to appropriate as much profit as it could without alienating the merchants. But the phenomenon of capital flight began well before the twentieth century, and colonial expansion as well depended on the

ability of mercantilists to function within national territorial boundaries. There was significant capitalist input in early Portuguese colonial ventures and much of this capital input was lost during the Inquisition. Antisemitism in the predominantly Catholic Iberian peninsula gathered momentum during the Inquisition and this triggered the large scale flight of Jewish capital from Portugal. The Jewish merchants subsequently found a safe haven for conducting their transactions in Holland.

In 1609, the Year of the Truce, De Wesselbank van Amsterdam was founded; it quickly became the great center of European deposit and exchange...over the century deposits rose from over 1 million to over 16 million florins and it became the place of retreat for owners of capital who feared for the safety of their wealth.⁴⁸

The movement of this capital coincided with the era of Dutch colonial pre-eminence, when in "1600 the Portuguese began to feel the competition of the Dutch."⁴⁹ Conversely, the royal courts of Spain and Portugal merged when Philip II (I of Portugal) became King of Portugal in 1580. This union which created a conflict of economic interests, led to a decline in Portuguese colonial power. Phillip II was primarily concerned with protecting the interests of the Spanish empire in the Americas and when these interfered with Portuguese colonial interests, it was the latter which were sacrificed. Wolf, who repeatedly underestimates the power of the merchant class, depicts the victory of Dutch over Portuguese colonial interests in terms of advances in technology and the retention of an aristocratic ideology by the Portuguese.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Wallerstein, (1980), 58.

⁴⁹ Wolf, (1982), 237.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

While foreign merchants had invested considerable capital during the initial phase of Portuguese colonial expansion, their interests were international and not national, and therefore conflicted with state mercantile policies. One can interpret the inquisition and the massive expulsion of Jewish merchants from the Iberian peninsula in a number of different ways. One could assume that religious factors prevailed and that the Roman Catholic church illogically upset the relationship between foreign merchants and the state—a partnership that had contributed significantly to Portuguese colonial expansion. Or one can argue that an indigenous merchant class attempted through mercantile policy, which is what the Inquisition was in disguise, to participate more directly in, and subsequently derive greater profits from, colonial expansion. But considering that the dialog between metropole and satellite was already well-defined, an international merchant class had decisive advantages over a national class of entrepreneurs. International financiers and traders could easily move from one entrepot to another without losing any of their profit margins through a change in locale. A curious aspect of Portuguese history has been the fluctuations between mercantile national policy and the intervention in the national economy by foreign merchants and powers.

The policies governing the initial colonization of the Azores complimented the interests of merchant capital. Why would the Flemish have come to the Azores? To start a feudal empire? Although internal social relations in the Azores resembled those of classical feudalism, the maintenance of these social relations—where a peasant class produces both for subsistence and the market—have become a defining feature of social relations

in much of the "underdeveloped" world in the twentieth century.⁵¹ The interaction of these productive forces are what theorists denote as the "articulation of the modes of production". In order to understand social relations in the Azores today the historical antecedents that have contributed to the development of the relation between peasant and capitalist modes of production must be demarcated. To understand this relationship, the context of discussion must be how productive activity in the Azores has historically been defined by market conditions.

Circulatory Theory and the Productive Dialog

While the logic of the argument I am proposing is essentially derived from Wallerstein's treatise on the "World Capitalist System",⁵² there are some parts of his argument that I find problematic. Foremost, when Wallerstein reduces class, status, nation and ethnicity to one general unit, which he terms "ethno-nations", he ignores an important point in Marxist analysis; that an understanding of capitalism also entails a discussion of exploitation and how one dominant class, in this case the owners of the means of production, extracts surplus value from subordinate classes such as the peasantry and the proletariat, for the purpose of capital accumulation.⁵³ The inherent problem in Wallerstein's analytical framework is that he combines a number of modes of thought which I believe should remain distinctive. Wallerstein's discussion of trade is clearly based on the work of Karl Polanyi. Polanyi, and later George Dalton, advanced the notion of exchange relationships (what became known as the substantivist position in

⁵¹ See Wolf, (1966).

⁵² Wallerstein, (1974; 1980).

⁵³ See Brenner, (1982).

anthropology) in reaction to the growing prevalence of the formalist approach in economic anthropology.⁵⁴ In the formalist framework, the individual was the unit of analysis and how the individual fared in the market place was based on the ability of the individual to maximize resources. Since in the developed capitalist countries economic activity appeared to revolve around the process of individual decision making, it was obvious to the formalists that this type of economic behavior had universal applicability.

Laissez-faire theory saw labour as a mobile factor of production, like land and capital, responsive to market supply and demand. The reality was that when labor was scarce, the labourer remained tied to his employer by a variety of extra-economic mechanisms from debt-peonage to indenture.⁵⁵

When confronted with the "reality" that economic behavior in the "underdeveloped" world did not conform to the formalist criteria of how economic systems should work, formalist anthropologists developed psychological and social profiles of "traditional" cultures that set them apart from the modern world. Dualism, or separate spheres of existence for traditional and modern societies, was at the heart of formalist analysis. Much of what was happening in traditional societies was uneconomic and the movement of these societies into the modern world was mired by cultural confusion. To counteract this trend, the substantivists introduced a

⁵⁴ K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, (Boston, 1957); and Trade and Markets in the Early Empires, (ed.); G. Dalton, "Economic Theory and Primitive Society," *American Anthropologist*, 63, (1961); S. Cook, "The Obsolete 'Anti-Market' Mentality: A Critique of the Substantive Approach to Economic Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, 68, (1966). For a good overview of the problems in the formalist and substantivist approaches and how these relate to production see S. Cook, "Economic Anthropology: Problems in Theory, Method and Analysis," *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, J. Honigsmann (ed), (Chicago, 1973).

⁵⁵ Worsley, (1984), 172.

relativistic framework that showed how through the process of exchange and the maintenance of social networks, economic behavior in traditional (or transitional) societies was rational. The substantivists argued that the appropriate focus of analysis needed to be society and not the individual.

Wallerstein borrows ideas from both of the above traditions in his attempt to explain how the "World Capitalist System" works. First, all the disparate parts of the world economy, whether capitalist or socialist, interact and compete with each other under the auspices of one general market system. This idea is not Wallerstein's alone, for Samir Amin also holds the position that there is only one world market, which is capitalist and in which the socialist economies also participate.⁵⁶ Recent events, such as restructuring, privatization and letting productive potential be determined by market conditions, in the Soviet Union and its satellites, have empirically supported this thesis on a general world economy.

Wallerstein, however, does not see the world economy as functioning in terms of relative advantage and disadvantage.

What we must notice now is that the specialization occurs in specific and differing geographic regions of the world-economy. This regional specialization tends to come about by the attempts of actors in the market to avoid the normal operation of the market whenever it does not maximize their profit. The attempts of these actors to use nonmarket devices to ensure short-run profits makes them turn to the political entities which have in fact power to effect the market.⁵⁷

The line of reasoning Wallerstein pursues here has little to do with an integrated world economy. The entry and withdrawal of actors from the

⁵⁶ Amin, (1974).

⁵⁷ Wallerstein, (1982), 39.

marketplace conjures up a world of Wall Street traders who buy and sell options whenever the market proves advantageous. In fact, Wallerstein uses the constructs ethno-nation and actor in much the same way that the formalists use the individual as the motivating force in the market place. While Wallerstein talks of an integrated world economy, in actuality he collapses the integrated units into discrete parts without addressing the real issue of how these units function in the world economy. From Wallerstein's analysis, it would not be difficult for social scientists to reconstitute the idea of a dual economy; because if regional specialization is seen as an attempt to avoid the normal operating procedures of the market, then actors who are not dominant players in the world market are operating under a different set of rules. Under the capitalist world system, the poles of interaction of dominant and subordinate classes have developed historically. To understand this development, trade relations must be outlined, but the forces that determine productive and unequal exchange relations must also be clarified. By ignoring production, and inequitable class relations, Wallerstein cannot explain how resources are transferred from the periphery to the center.⁵⁸

Wallerstein's general framework of the World Capitalist System is still an important point of departure for this study. I do not think one can understand Portugal's role in colonial expansion without a close examination of trade relations. But trade activity must also be put into the context of productive relations. Part of the reason may be as Wallerstein argues: that in orthodox Marxist analysis, the relationship between capitalism and the industrial revolution is so pervasive that they have become synonymous

⁵⁸ See Brenner, (1982).

with each other; consequently, the four hundred years of mercantilism is perceived as something qualitatively different from capitalism.⁵⁹ This orientation leads to the tendency of Marxists to understand capitalist relations only in terms of full-time proletarianization.⁶⁰

In Chapter 3, I outlined how a crisis in the agricultural sector in Portugal contributed to the demise of tributary relations and the ascendancy of mercantile interests. The Portuguese actively sought out new ways to meet the growing trade deficit following the agricultural crisis. One of the strategies was mercantilism and colonial expansion. The transfer of commodities from the far east to Europe provided important and much needed revenues for Portugal. But this was only one aspect of Portuguese colonial history and only one strategy that the Portuguese pursued. The Portuguese still needed to meet their requirements for internal food consumption and to do this they needed cereal grains, especially wheat. There were two options available: the first was to buy grain, which Portugal did from Spain; the second was to increase production by growing wheat on the Atlantic Islands.

⁵⁹ Wallerstein, (1982).

⁶⁰ How to define capitalism and what it encompasses has preoccupied a number of historians. The word itself has taken on an almost chameleon identity of its own. Both Braudel (1979) and Heilbroner (1985) have questioned whether the concept, because of its controversial history, is best not used at all. But both writers agree that to understand modern history, the historian needs to somehow come to terms with this amorphous construct. See Braudel (1979), 231-251.

THE INTRODUCTION OF A SOCIAL SYSTEM: THE SETTLEMENT OF THE AZORES

In the previous chapter I outlined how merchant capital can impinge on productive relations in certain historical situations. This chapter examines the types of social relationships that emerged on the Azores as a consequence of the expansion of merchant capital to the islands. The settlement of the Atlantic Islands represented not only the movement of merchant capital to a new productive frontier, but involved the movement of people, the installment of institutions through which these people could interact, and the imbedding of ideas through which socio-economic realities could be interpreted. The settlement of the Atlantic Islands thus involved the migration of a total socio-cultural system.

For the Portuguese and Flemish settlers, and the merchants of various nationalities, who arrived on the islands the economic parameters under which they could operate were clearly defined by royal decree. Through a system of tariffs and monopolies the royal court ensured that it would retain a sizeable percentage of the surplus generated on the islands. The policies of the Portuguese court were explicitly related to the realization of a number of objectives. Armando Castro, in a summary of Vitorino Godinho's treatise on the reasons for colonial expansion, writes that the Portuguese settled the Atlantic Islands to: 1) augment agricultural production to alleviate the

deficiencies in cereals on the mainland; 2) expand sugar cultivation from the Algarve and the region of Coimbra; 3) obtain primary materials for industrial textile manufacture; 4) provide the *senhorial* lords whose fortunes were in decline on the mainland with new feudal estates.¹

The commodities from the Atlantic islands were to a large extent used as trade goods and while the Portuguese controlled the production of these goods, the final destination of sugar and the dyes produced on the islands was Flanders and in the late sixteenth century, England. Even the cereal grains that were ostensibly being produced for continental consumption were periodically used as a currency to obtain more viable commodities, such as gold, which inevitably found their way to the manufacturing zones in northern Europe. The expansion of productive activity to the Atlantic islands was related to satisfying external trade obligations. To realize these larger economic objectives, however, the Portuguese had to create a social system that allowed for the production of these commodities. Obviously, the most effective way to accomplish this was to simply transplant the system that already existed on the continent to the new economic frontier.

The old system of social definition, however, presented certain obstacles to the economic development of the islands. Merchants, on the islands, were to play an important role in both the production of commodities and their transfer to the manufacturing centers. As long as the merchants remained traders, that is outside of the process of production itself, their profits were limited. On the Atlantic islands though where the potential for profit was great, the rigid hierarchical structure of feudal society could not accommodate the aspirations of a merchant class. The conflicting

¹ Castro, (1985), 237.

cultural dialog between an ideology of social fixity and an ideology of social mobility took root at an early stage in Azorean history. The social institutions that were introduced on the islands belonged to the old order but the manner in which these institutions were used to realize certain class objectives belonged to a new age.

Not only merchants, but the laborers who came to the islands, had to be offered at least a glimpse of the possibility of upward mobility. One strategy, that Reddy notes for continental Europe, was the game where the profits from merchant enterprise were used to gain access to previously impenetrable social circles.² Merchants used this strategy quite effectively on the Azores. Laborers as well were integrated into this cultural universe of rising expectations as they produced cash crops for export and received in return manufactured goods from northern Europe. One can therefore say that society preceded culture to the islands as the old order was physically replicated though the bestowment of titles and land grants. But while the new society resembled the old in certain aspects, there were a number of factors that distinguished the new from the old.

The geographical distance between Lisbon and the islands to a large extent meant that the military power of the state was unavailable to protect the interests of a feudal class. The Portuguese crown garrisoned soldiers on the islands but their function was to protect commercial interests and ward off pirates. If these soldiers were to have been placed in charge of internal security on a full-time basis, their numbers would have to have been increased to function in both capacities. To feed larger armies would have required the diversion of a considerable portion of the surplus from

² Reddy, (1987), 38.

commerce to consumption needs. So while certain feudal elements were imported to the islands, the crucial military force through which surplus extraction could be guaranteed was for the large part not a factor. Surplus was generated through other means on the Azores.

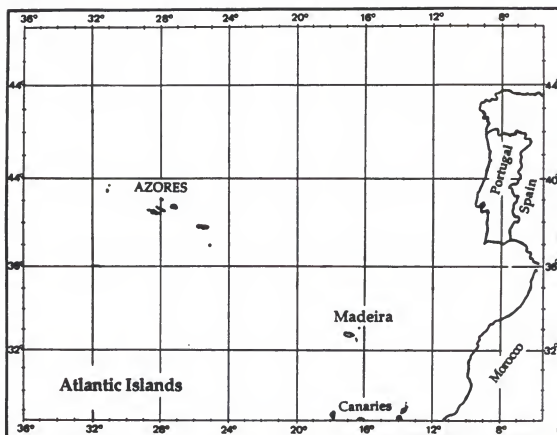
Another reason for the colonization of the Atlantic Islands was that they would provide lands for senhorial lords who needed to revive their economic fortunes.³ The titles to the islands, however, went not only to impoverished nobles who already controlled considerable land on the continent but were given to landless members of the nobility. Greenfield argues that the aspiration for social mobility was the most important reason for volunteering to settle in this remote frontier.⁴ The settlers who arrived in the Azores likewise came to improve their life chances. Social mechanisms, therefore, as much as physical force generated the export surpluses produced on the islands.

As I outline below, the initial Portuguese experience with colonial expansion was experimental in nature. The Portuguese early on in history gained infamy as slave traders but this type of labor mobilization was only one strategy in a larger repertoire as to how to labor might be moved to achieve larger objectives. The following sections examine another aspect of Portuguese labor history--that which culminated with the settlement of the Atlantic islands.

³ Castro, (1985), 237.

⁴ Greenfield, (1977), 540.

Figure 5.1



The Portuguese Atlantic Region

Source: Adapted from Departamento Regional de Estudos e Planeamento dos Açores, (1984).

Economic Expansion and Environmental Contingencies

The "Atlantic Islands" of Madeira and the Azores represented the outer limits of European westward expansion in the fifteenth century. A common premise among historians is that the Atlantic islands were an experimental laboratory where the nuances of managing colonial territory could be tested and refined.⁵ While the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores, Madeiras and Cape Verdes were an ideal setting for establishing how administrative and economic policy could be enforced in a colonial hinterland, they differed markedly from later colonial territories in that there was no native population to conquer and control on the islands.

After the "official" discovery of the Azores in 1427, there appeared to be little initial interest in settling the islands. The archipelago remained unoccupied until 1439 when the Infante Dom Henrique issued licenses for the first captaincies to São Miguel and Santa Maria, the most eastward islands. During the intervening fifteen years, domestic animals such as sheep and goats had been left on the islands to prepare them for human occupation.⁶ By 1460, sugar cultivation was becoming profitable on Madeira yet the Portuguese did not follow suit and merely extend the cultivation of this cash crop to the Azores. Bentley Duncan argues that one of the reasons that this boom crop was not simply transferred to a new locale was environmental; the "Azorean Islands lacked the warm climate that sugarcane needs."⁷ While climatic conditions were certainly a factor, the Azores are well within the

⁵ The Portuguese very effectively utilized the system of *donatários*, first used on the islands, throughout their growing colonial empire; the political bodies, social relations and forms of productive activity incorporated in the islands became standard Portuguese colonial practise and were used as a precedent in the administration of the Indies and Brazil (Marques 1983:35).

⁶ Marques, (1983).

⁷ T. Duncan, (1972), 85.

environmental range for sugar-cane growth. Blume writes that sugar-cane can be grown as far north as 38⁰ north latitude, and the southeastern islands of the Azores that were first colonized are within this range.

The climatic differences between the Azores and Madeira are not extreme. Both island systems are warmed by the Gulf Stream, so annual fluctuations of temperature are not great. Frost, a perennial enemy of sugar cane, is a climatic threat that does not effect either the Madeiras or Azores. The optimal temperature for sugar, however, is 38⁰ Celsius and neither island system experiences temperatures that high on a regular basis.⁸ So while the archipelagos of the Madeiras and the Azores represented new territory for the extension of this cash crop, the ideal weather conditions that would produce higher yields and greater profits did not exist in either of the archipelagos.

Some writers argue that the cultivation of sugar cane in the Atlantic Islands (including the Canaries) contributed to a decline in sugar production on the Mediterranean islands.⁹ Although the Atlantic Islands were more "efficient producers" of sugar-cane, there were other factors that led to the collapse of the medieval sugar industry in the Mediterranean: war, plague, political unrest and changing climatic conditions were all contributing factors.¹⁰ The sugar cane industry in the Mediterranean was already beset with problems before production was extended to Madeira. The Atlantic islands represented an opportunity to extend the cultivation of this commodity, but only because of the absence of a more suitable environmental

⁸ H. Blume, (1985).

⁹ Mintz, (1985), 29.

¹⁰ Blume, (1985), 28.

context. This context would appear with the discovery of Brazil by Pedro Cabral in 1500. Blume argues that production of sugar cane on the Madeiras contributed to a decline in prices in continental Europe and this was the reason that sugar cane production was not undertaken immediately after Brazil's discovery. It was only after prices increased that sugar cane was introduced to Brazil.¹¹ If one examines, however, the pattern of Portuguese colonial cashcropping it becomes apparent that while market prices influenced production increases, the development of any particular commodity for the market involved the creation of an infrastructural base to produce that product efficiently.

The profits to be made from sugar cane in the latter part of the fifteenth century were enormous, so even considering the environmental limitations (limitations that also pertained to Madeira), the Portuguese would have extended sugar production to the Azores if it would have been possible to do so. Sugar-cane was one of a number of crops that helped promote economic growth during the formative years on the Azores; but it was never a monocrop as it was in Madeira and Brazil where it dominated productive activity. By the time that sugar cane was an established crop on the Azores, sugar production was already declining on Madeira, for the sixteenth century was "the Brazilian century for sugar".¹² Consequently, sugar cane, the plantation economy that accompanied it, and slavery the labor system used to harvest it, never became firmly entrenched in the Azores. If a climatic explanation is used to explain why sugar cane cultivation was not expanded to the Azores, this argument would have to be applied to Madeira as well.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹² *Ibid.*, 33.

Madeira at the time of settlement was totally covered in forests--hence the name Madeira which is Portuguese for wood. In order to utilize the land for agricultural production, the forests needed to be cleared and the mountainous slopes terraced. During the formative years of settlement, timber and dyes obtained from the tree *dragão* probably provided sufficient revenue to encourage continued development of the islands' infrastructure. The dye products were exported to the northern European manufacturing polities, specifically Flanders. But although the sugar cane economy thrived on Madeira for almost one hundred years, the archipelago's terrain was not ideally suited to a large-scale plantation economy. The cultivation of sugar cane on Madeira was extremely labor intensive as an elaborate irrigation system (*levadas*) needed to be built when the water supply became scarce as a result of deforestation.

The cane was, and still is, grown on narrow terraces clinging to the steep slopes of the hills and irrigated with water brought down from the mountain heights and distributed through an elaborate system of small conduits. Cultivation in Madeira is arduous. Draft animals cannot be used; everything must be done by hand.¹³

If environmental suitability was the only factor for growing sugar-cane on Madeira rather than the Azores, then it would have saved a lot of time and effort had the Portuguese simply reserved the Madeiras for wheat and planted sugar-cane in the Azores.

There must then be another reason that accounts for why the Portuguese, and their Genovese financiers, did not find the Azores suitable

¹³ Duncan, (1972), 10.

for sugar-cane. Madeira was easier to reach by sail in the fifteenth century than the Azores for:

the strong westerlies and northwesterlies rendered difficult a direct westward voyage from Portugal, but of course the return to Portugal was easier. At times the wind shifted and blew from the east, making it possible to sail to the Azores.¹⁴

Crosby argues that it was the knowledge of cyclical wind patterns that allowed Europeans to establish their hegemony in the world¹⁵ and it would seem logical that the successful colonization of the Azores also depended on an intimate awareness of the winds. Since the economy of Madeira was flourishing there probably was no real reason to augment production of sugar-cane by expanding cultivation to the Azores until an efficient and cost effective means of transversing the wind obstacle had been resolved. This may be one reason why the Portuguese royal court neglected the development of the Azores in the fifteenth century.

Another factor that probably discouraged investment in the Azores was the frequency of volcanic activity. Madeira has in historical time not experienced the volcanic eruptions that have been an integral part of Azorean life. Shortly after the first settlers arrived in São Miguel, the large volcano of Sete Cidades erupted (in 1444). The financial feasibility of establishing a plantation system, comparable to the one that was introduced in Madeira,¹⁶ in an area of geological unpredictability may have discouraged Italian investors who provided the capital for the sugar-cane enterprise.

¹⁴ B. Diffie, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*. (with G. Winius), (Minneapolis, 1977), 61.

¹⁵ Crosby, (1986).

¹⁶ S. Greenfield, (1977).

Colonial Enterprise

The Atlantic Islands were deliberately settled for commercial ventures. The letters of grants for the captaincies were carefully considered and the crops to be grown were selected with certain objectives in mind; the regulation of resources was an important concern in regions "where a market economy prevailed".¹⁷ Consequently, the system of land tenure and the types of crops to be cultivated were from the outset orchestrated from the metropolis and installed in the satellite by royal decree; the mechanisms of dependency that have defined Azorean economic history can be located in these early policies. In what was to become a definitive pattern in Azorean economic history, almost all insular exports were to be routed through Lisbon.

The Portuguese crown, during the latter half of the fifteenth century, was concerned about meeting subsistence needs on the continent as there was a shortage of cereal grains in Portugal and wheat was desperately needed to feed the continental population. In Portugal during the fifteenth century almost 3/4 of agriculturally productive land was lying fallow and there was a concerted effort to revive these lands. So the introduction of cereal grains in the Azores coincided with a general trend in continental Portugal to rejuvenate the agricultural sector. But while the continent soil lacked in fertility, the Azores with their opportune climatic conditions were a botanical utopia. Apparently, the ecological conditions that made the Azores unsuitable for sugar-cane did not apply to wheat. Besides meeting the needs for continental subsistence, another reason for encouraging wheat production

¹⁷ Rocha Gil, (1979).

on the Azores was that wheat served as a form of currency which the Portuguese crown traded for gold in West Africa.¹⁸

Initially, wheat was grown on Madeira and was used to feed the continental population as well as to provision the North African ports and ships on their exploratory journeys. In 1452, a sugar mill was established in Madeira and a plantation economy soon grew around the highly lucrative enterprise of feeding "inveterate sugar eaters".¹⁹ As wheat production declined on Madeira, cultivation was expanded to the Azores. The transitional sequence where sugar-cane quickly displaced wheat on Madeira and then was subsequently introduced in the Azores however would inevitably lead to periodic shortages of cereal grains on the continent as the Azores needed to be settled before the transfer could take place. Portugal overcame the subsistence problem by purchasing wheat from Andalusia, but the need to redirect production from a consumption crop to a marketable commodity reflected the needs of the Portuguese crown.²⁰

While São Miguel and Santa Maria were colonized for wheat production, the westward islands were deeded to Flemish entrepreneurs who were in all likelihood interested in the exportation of the natural dyes available on these islands for use in the textile mills in their home country. The two most popular indigenous plants were *urzela*, a moss used for dye that grew on rocks and walls and *asarcão*. On Faial, *asarcão* provided substantial profits. Urzella, another local dye, was exported from Santa Maria in great quantities.²¹ By the time pastel, a dye plant introduced from Europe,

¹⁸ Marques, (1976), 159.

¹⁹ Mintz, (1985), 6.

²⁰ Castro, (1985), 57.

²¹ M. Lima, *Anais do Município da Horta: História da Ilha do Faial*, (East Providence, 1943); *Arquivo dos Açores* Vol I.

became a boom crop about 1570, export trade had shifted from Flanders to Great Britain. Another valuable plant was *sangue de dragão*, a resin obtained from the tree *Dracaena draco*. The Portuguese were already providing drugs as well as spices for the European market and dragon's blood, a clotting substance, would have added to their pharmaceutical repertoire. The *dragão* appeared to have many properties. Father Cordeiro explains that from the trunk of this magnificent tree can be made a pail that will hold a *moio* of wheat, or a fishing boat that will hold six or seven men. The fruit from the tree can also be used to fatten pigs.²² And it was also useful as a dye product.²³ But by the beginning of the eighteenth century when Father Cordeiro wrote his history, this large tree had disappeared.

The islands did not have an indigenous base to build upon so an infrastructure needed to be constructed and this initially hindered the development of the islands. Accommodations needed to be built to house the settlers; and port facilities and roads developed so produce and crops could be exported. These activities required capital investment but the "profits were lucrative". Another important priority was building fortifications for the protection of merchant ships. Piracy had interfered with Portuguese commerce since before the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, and measures had to be taken against this omnipresent threat.

²² Cordeiro, (1866), 63.

²³ Castro, (1985), 237.

The System of *Donatários*

In marked contrast to the later Spanish experience in the New World where the colonial order was primarily juxtaposed on an old order, as it was among the Inca and Aztec, the settling of the Atlantic Islands presented more formidable problems. Foremost, since there was no indigenous population and no pre-existing trade or productive relations, a social reality needed to be constructed. Where merchant capital articulated in other colonial outposts with non-capitalist forms of production, the social relations in the Azores from the beginning represented solely the interests of market expansion. In one sense the occupation of the Azores could be simply viewed as territorial expansion; virgin soil within sovereign territory was cultivated to increase productive activity. The Portuguese thus installed a feudal system that was a facsimile of the one that existed on the mainland to make up for deficiencies in internal agricultural production. As there was a shortage of cereal grains within Portugal, Azorean wheat was used to meet subsistence needs on the mainland.²⁴

This type of argument, however, would assume that the total surplus from the Azores was used to shore up the declining feudal sector on the mainland. Trade from the Azores flowed in many directions, and although the royal crown and certain nobility profited in Portugal from the exchange of commodities from the islands, it is not clear as to how much of the produce ever made its way to the continental homeland.

The social order that was installed on the Azores had its roots in feudal Europe, but at the same time was designed to meet the needs of an evolving world market. As a result of the wars with Castille and the Moors, the ranks

²⁴ Marques, (1983).

of the nobility in Portugal were bursting; through military achievement, titles had been bestowed, but these titles were meaningless without the requisite status of land. There was, therefore, no shortage of future *morgados* and *capitão donatários* to recruit from the ranks of the Portuguese nobility. Many of the original captains arrived in the Azores virtually penniless.²⁵ Rocha Gil implicitly refers to another factor that sheds light on the socio-economic situation of the first *donatários* and *capitais*. Through primogenitor inheritance, the social and economic position of the eldest son is established by birth.²⁶ But what of the second son? There may have been no avenue open to these sons who had no fixed inheritance but a birthright that reinforced their influence in commercial ventures. As the feudal order collapsed throughout Europe, the ranks of the nobility were thinned as the second and third sons sought to participate in the lucrative business of merchant trade. Many of these merchants used their social connections to obtain land and the right to extract tribute on the Atlantic Islands. These expatriate feudal lords took up their tenureship as landed gentry, as the *grande proprietarios*, but while their social identity was based on an old affiliation their economic priorities were based on the reality that colonial trade was where the profits were to be made.

A number of factors contributed to the appearance of a land tenure system in the Atlantic archipelagos that was in character *latifundia* but in actuality resembled a system where independent producers paid a rent fee and sold their surplus directly to a merchant class. According to Marques, on Madeira, the original captains soon grew rich and retired to the main cities

²⁵ F. Rodgers, *Atlantic Islanders of the Azores and Madeira*, (North Quincy, 1979).

²⁶ Rocha Gil, (1979).

leaving the management of their affairs to managers and the actual tenants.²⁷

Anton Blok explains that:

Though functions for middleman roles are thus generated by relative isolation or segmentation, the persistence of both these roles and the gaps they bridge is related to the degree to which middlemen succeed in dominating the paths that link the village to the larger, encompassing society.²⁸

This social scenario which began in Madeira was repeated in the Azores and created a situation where producers and other middlemen negotiated directly with the merchants. The producer thus assumed the major proportion of the risk while the landlords were able to fulfill their aristocratic fantasies with revenues from their control of the grain mills and periodic intervention in market activity—an activity that became more pronounced as time progressed. This direct involvement with the merchants exposed the producers to the uncertainties and vagaries of the larger market system. When market prices declined the producers suffered, but the periodic boom periods provided moments of prosperity for certain individuals who took advantage of their position as middlemen to realize great profits. The unmitigated negotiations between merchant and producer also eliminated the need for coercive mechanisms to ensure surplus extraction.

The first *donatário* ²⁹ for the Azores was Dom Infante Henrique who had been given control of Madeira in 1433 by his brother Duarte and whose

²⁷ Marques, (1976), 154.

²⁸ A. Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village, 1860-1960*, (New York, 1975), 25.

²⁹ In the archival records and in various histories on the Açores, writers at times use different terminology when referring to the system of *donatários*. Some historians refer to the actual recipients of grants as *donatários* (Lima 1943). Others prefer to reserve this term for the Portuguese nobility that actually issued the licenses (Rocha Gil 1979). For the sake of clarity, *donatário* in this thesis refers to those who granted the licenses in Portugal. The term *capitão*

jurisdiction was extended to the seven islands of the Azores in 1439; Corvo and Flores were only discovered in 1452. In general, the system of colonization and land tenure worked in terms of the following arrangement. The *capitão donatários* were assigned islands on the basis of the *morgado* system, the prevalent form of land ownership under feudal tenure in continental Portugal. The *morgado* system followed the primogenitor rule where the eldest son would inherit the captaincy and if there was no male heir the captaincy would revert to the crown. The captain donatory's divided the land into *sesmarias* and these allotments were either given or sold to *proprietários*. Since much of the land on the islands was wooded and not suitable for immediate cultivation, the tenants were allowed a period of time, about five years, to "break the land".³⁰ The captains were given a monopoly and control over the commercial grist mills, public baking ovens and the sale of salt. In theory and by royal law, the captains could choose the lands that they preferred but they were obligated to report the probable size and possible usage of the land to the *Almoxarife* (tax collector), and these incidentals were to be communicated to the Duke of Viseu, the official title for the *donatário* for all the islands. When the captain assigned lands to smaller landowners the "same precautions were to be taken." The delivery of the land was supposed to be made with all the concerned parties in attendance: the recipient, the captain and the *Almoxarife*. If all this was not done the rights to the land were rescinded.³¹ As would be expected because of the remoteness

donatário, refers to those who were given the licenses or grants for the Islands. I have also used the English translation of captain for *capitão donatário* in some contexts.

³⁰ M. Dias, *Ilha Terceira*, (1982).

³¹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 54.

of the islands, the system was abused from the start. The *donatários*, who were for the most part absentee landlords, had little direct control over their appointed captains.³²

Because of the dependence on cashcropping, the nobility and large landowners were especially susceptible to crisis. With the decline of pastel in the last third of the seventeenth century, the sale of leases and land "intensified" as the nobility attempted to make up for their lack of profits by selling the only resource available to them.³³ Those who had the resources to purchase this land were the merchants.

The Merchants

The merchants who came to the Azores were in all probability already engaged in the lucrative trade between Lisbon and Flanders. According to Marques there was no shortage of Portuguese merchants conducting trade abroad and if Madeira and Porto Santo were used as indicators of success there were great profits to be made in the new colonies.³⁴ The Genovese had been active participants in the sugar business in Madeira, and in all likelihood had been responsible for its introduction on those islands.³⁵ The inclusion of the Genovese in the expansionistic effort was not unusual for there had been for some years "frequent intervention by Italians in the national economy."³⁶ To take advantage of commercial ventures, Portuguese and Genovese as well as Flemish mercantilists invested capital in the Azores. The mercantile actors, however, had changed by the time of the settlement of the Azores. While the

³² Rodgers, (1979).

³³ Rocha Gil, (1979), 241.

³⁴ Marques, (1983).

³⁵ Duncan, (1972).

³⁶ Rocha Gil, (1979, 35).

Genovese still retained some influence as financiers throughout Europe in the latter part of the fifteenth century, "German and Flemish merchants and financiers began to usurp their places in Antwerp and Seville."³⁷

Consequently, the Italian presence in the Azores was to a large extent limited to one island and this connection was familial and not national. Pero Correia da Cunha, the Portuguese brother-in-law of Christopher Columbus, received the captaincy for Graciosa.

During the final quarter of the sixteenth century, the nationalities of the merchants changed once again. English merchants, working from an established base in Lisbon, became prominent actors in Azorean life. Richard Hutchison, William Searshfield and William Chamberlain were all Englishmen who sought economic opportunity in the Azores. Chamberlain monopolized almost all the trade in pastel between 1669-1676.³⁸ These merchants while diversifying their business interests, maintained their connections with their cohorts in Lisbon. Primarily, these merchants served as intermediaries directing commodities obtained from the local and other colonial markets to the larger international market.

On the surface, these merchants were engaging in the enterprise of what Marx termed capital circulation and either paid for primary resources on the Azores with money or other commodities. Almost all the trade goods that moved through the Atlantic were used as forms of currency in the Azores during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of these trade goods would become permanently integrated into Azorean life. *Bacalau*, or dried cod fish, which began to appear in the Azores in the early sixteenth

³⁷ Davis (1973), 27.

³⁸ Rocha Gil, (1979).

century when it was brought from the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, is still a delicacy on the islands, as it is throughout the Iberian Peninsula. Cod fish, Spanish gold and silver, European textiles, and to a lesser extent, slaves, were all negotiable tender on the Azores.³⁹ The Azores were, however, more than a "port of trade". The business of simple commodity manipulation was supplemented by the local production of goods which were in turn directed towards the international market. As demand for certain commodities grew, production activities related to satisfying this demand were stimulated.

Marx in describing the limitations of merchant capital did not take into consideration that when the volume of capital increased, production of favorable commodities also increased. Thus, the more money (M) in circulation, the more commodities (C) were produced. As manufacturing industry grew in northern Europe in the sixteenth century, more primary materials were required. It was during this period that the cultivation of pastel was extended to the Azores.

Feudal and mercantile relations were complimentary rather than antagonistic in Portugal and the Atlantic islands. The nobility, beneficiaries of land grants and illustrious titles and the right to tax a certain proportion of the surplus, were interested in increasing their incomes as their tribute earnings were not sufficient to meet the growing expenses that came with their titles. Conversely, the merchants needed to disguise their humble origins and to escape the policies of the inquisition. There were a number of strategies a merchant could employ to elevate his and his family's social status. The most direct manner was through marriage into a noble family. Another mechanism was to enter the ranks of the clergy or to attempt to

³⁹ Ibid.

obtain the protection of the church through generous donations. Some merchants utilized multiple strategies. Sebastião Alvares, a powerful Angra merchant during the late sixteenth century, initiated a series of marriages between his daughters and sons of the aristocracy. Then in order to ensure his social ascendancy, Alvares contributed heavily to the church.⁴⁰ The nobility, which included the clergy, and the mercantile bourgeoisie, who were by definition class enemies under the *ancien régime*, found much in common with the expansion of the colonial economy. Consequently, marriages between these two groups resulted in relationships that were mutually beneficial.

With the development of a global economy, entrepreneurs were continually seeking out means through which they could increase their profits.⁴¹ And these entrepreneurs were drawn from both the ranks of the nobility and the merchant class. The nobility controlled production and the merchant class were in charge of arranging the transactions to dispense with the surplus. International commerce proved advantageous to both groups.⁴²

The Settlers

The Atlantic in the fifteenth century was still a mysterious abyss. Public knowledge, at the time of Columbus's first voyage to the Americas, was that the world was flat. To persuade peasants to travel to, nevermind settle, a new land on the edge of this abyss, especially lands that were environmentally circumscribed, must have either required coercion or a system of incentives. Castro remarks that the conditions of life in Portugal

⁴⁰ Ibid, 154-155.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid, 98.

and the opportunity for material gain must have weighed heavily on the minds, and influenced the decisions, of the first settlers to come to the Azores.⁴³ No doubt the system of leaving familiar domesticated animals was intended to diffuse the inevitable shock of being in a strange land with no familiar reference, as well as provide for subsistence needs in the formative colony building years. But the economies of Madeira and Porto Santo were thriving and the boom in sugar-cane facilitated the recruitment of settlers for the other Atlantic Islands. The first water mill had been functionable on Madeira since 1450 and in five years production had increased to 6000 *arrobas* of Madeiran sugar; by 1498, 120,000 *arrobas* of sugar were being exported from Madeira to Flanders annually.⁴⁴ To encourage settlement the crown initially exempted the settlers and merchants from customs taxes with the double motive of enticing *colonos* and attracting merchant capital.⁴⁵

The first settlers to the Azores apparently prospered as the land was fertile. The crops introduced were cash crops and much in demand on the European market.

The first years of settlement were laboriously spent breaking land, opening roads, and constructing houses. But the land was, as it still is, generous and prolific: compensating them...the wheat sprouts abundantly; they prepared pastel on a large scale; they made wine; enough sugar-cane was cultivated for the extraction of good quantities of excellent sugar and everything was abundantly exported to the continent, to Flanders.⁴⁶

Of the Portuguese settlers who arrived in the Azores, the majority of them probably came from the Alentejo and Algarve in southern Portugal.

⁴³ Castro, (1985), 63.

⁴⁴ Ibid, (1985), 88.

⁴⁵ Marques, (1983), 37; Rocha Gil, (1979), 41.

⁴⁶ Lima, (1943), 46.

Godinho, utilizing comparative cultural data compiled by Jorge Dias and Orlando Ribeiro, states that migrants from the Algarve settled on Santa Maria, while São Miguel was colonized by settlers from the Alentejo and Estremadura. Settlers for the rest of the Azores came from Minho and Beira in northern Portugal.⁴⁷ Some of the original *lavradores* from Portugal might have been the retainers of feudal lords but many were in all probability attracted to the Azores through promises of land. The settlers who arrived from Flanders were also for the most part attracted to these distant islands through the promise of land and the chance to begin a new life.

There appears to have been two systems of land tenure on the Azores that were mutually reinforcing and operating simultaneously. There were the leases or *prazos* which were hereditary although they could be sold with the permission of the *senhorio*. The other form of land tenure commonly called *emprazamento*, imposed a fixed rent on the producer that was unalterable. This system was used effectively in the Azores and was still being employed on Faial in the nineteenth century with the cultivation of orange trees.⁴⁸ Rocha Gil, in her massive tome on the economy of the archipelago in the seventeenth century, cites numerous cases of producers dealing directly with merchants. In many of these cases the rent was agreed upon in advance and the producer negotiated directly with the merchant.⁴⁹ This type of relationship is somewhat different than sharecropping or the usual type of arrangements common under feudal tenure. Normally, under feudal tenure the lord takes the surplus while the peasant is allotted rights to

⁴⁷ Godinho (1971).

⁴⁸ W. Walker, *The Azores or Western Islands*, (London, 1886).

⁴⁹ Rocha Gil (1979).

a portion of land to be used for subsistence activity.⁵⁰ Through sharecropping, the harvest is usually divided in terms of who has contributed the material and labor. When rent is agreed upon in advance it makes the producer vulnerable to changes in market prices and bad harvest years. All the risk is thus shifted to the producer. This is a similar strategy to the one pursued by the United Fruit Company in Nicaragua during the Somaza years. Because of the large profits to be made from wheat and pastel in the Azores in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a great deal of crop speculation on the islands,⁵¹ and the producer while subjected to the risks of monocropping shared in the profits if the market price increased.

Gaspar Frutuoso lists a number of case studies that provide insight into the types of social arrangements that existed at the time of colonization. These examples are both indicative of the kind of settler who originally came to the Azores and provide support for the theory that there was no real hold on laborers once they arrived.

The grandfather of Adão da Silva, on arrival in the land was given an allotment of *lomba*...and though he bought well, he couldn't make a living in this island and wanted to return to Portugal. He sold it for four sheep and a violin. This *lomba* had rented each year for more than ten moios of wheat; before it was covered with a fire of burning rocks.⁵²

It is unclear whether the grandfather bought the land or it was supplied in lieu of later payment in services or kind. What is significant is that he had the ability to sell this land when he became disillusioned and wanted to leave. In a similar context, Rocha Gil cites the case of one Sebastião Dias who

⁵⁰ See, *Marxism, Communism and Western Society*, (1972).

⁵¹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 135.

⁵² G. Frutuoso, *Saudades da Terra*, (Ponta Delgada, 1981).

in 1486 was requisitioned a piece of forested land on Faial. Dias's land bordered that of Goncalo Rodrigues and Fernão Pires. Apparently, in 1489 Dias sold his land to Rodrigues for the original price of eight pigs.⁵³ These types of land transactions are not common under feudal tenure, especially under the *morgado* system where all land is technically the property of the *donatário*. In theory, the feudal lord's resource base is land and the loss of control of this resource indicates that other forces such as the market are operative. Maurice Dobb describes feudalism as a system where "a free market in land was absent (as well as free labour mobility)."⁵⁴

By the seventeenth century, a sizeable salaried class had emerged in the Azores. The brief boom period of pastel had created enough of a surplus to allow for considerable occupational specialization. This salaried class was more vulnerable to crisis than the peasantry as their wages did not always keep up with increasing prices; as the disparate relationship between real wages and their buying power was growing larger. The average price for a *moio* of wheat between 1620 and 1640 was 6000 *reis* and an average salaried worker earned between 20 and 60 *reis* per day.⁵⁵ Considering that the dietary requirement for one person (adult) was 1/3 *moio* of wheat per year, average annual household consumption (two to six members) would average between one and two *mois* depending on the developmental cycle of the household.⁵⁶ A worker who was fortunate enough to find employment for 300 days (which is a very high estimate) would earn 12,000 *reis* and be able to meet the subsistence needs of a family of six. But the same worker, without

⁵³ Rocha Gil, (1979), 34.

⁵⁴ Dobb, (1967), 26.

⁵⁵ *Arquivo dos Açores*, I:528; Rocha Gil, (1979), 277-281.

⁵⁶ Duncan, (1972).

land, who could only find employment for 150 days would not have the resources to sustain a large family.

Table 5. 1
Price List of Commodities in the Early Sixteenth Century in the Azores

Commodity	Value in <i>Reis</i>
pig (unit)	1300-2500
beef (kilo)	23
sugar (Kilo)	32
rice (kilo)	26
oil (Liter)	308

Source: Rocha Gil, (1979), 277-281.

It is unclear if Rocha Gil is referring to a *unidade* of pork meat and what the weight of this meat would be or if it constitutes a whole pig. Frutuoso who wrote almost 50 years before had valued a pig as high as 7000 reis. The price of pork may have fallen as the price of pastel declined thereby indicating that even subsistence foods were affected by a decline in cashcropping. What the above price list signifies is that the cost of basic foodstuffs in relation to actual wages was very high. The periodic revolts in the sixteenth century when peasants and the salaried class were protesting increases in the price of bread can be seen as a result of inflation and its affect on the disparity between prices and wages.

In order to survive the local proletariat employed multiple strategies including offering their children to merchants as indentured servants. At times this type of social relationship was inhumane, as well as exploitive, but in other instances it was economically functional. Domingos Ferreira was an Angra merchant who took in an eleven year old boy from Faial named Bartolomeu for a period of eight years. Part of the contract between the boy's

parents and the merchant stipulated that the *patrão* teach his charge how to read and write. If, however, the son absconded and broke the contract then the merchant was not obligated to pay any part of the child's salary, even for time rendered.⁵⁷ This particular clause was inserted as there had been frequent instances of children trying to evade their service. To make the total salary conditional on complete fulfillment of the contract was an insurance policy that in every way favored the interests of the merchant while placing a heavy social responsibility on the boy whose parents would loose if he reneged on his part of the arrangement.

The boom/bust cycles of the Azorean economy produced times of prosperity and times of hardship for the settlers, merchants and lords alike. During the boom periods producers traded directly with merchants for commodities imported from Europe and the Americas. Both a merchant class and a landed gentry were involved in mediating these commodities. One commodity in which the Portuguese actively traded, however, was never integrated into the island system. Slavery, which would become almost synonymous with Portuguese colonial expansion, was never introduced on the Azores on a large scale.

Azorean Slavery: Há Brancos Aqui

The subject of Azorean slavery is a very enigmatic one. The Portuguese were renowned slave traders and it is presumed that they would have used slave labor in all their colonies. Wolf writes that between 1450 and 1500 the Portuguese "secured" some 150,000 slaves some of whom were sent to the newly colonized islands of Madeira and the Azores.⁵⁸ But today there

⁵⁷ Rocha Gil, (1979), 264.

⁵⁸ Wolf, (1982).

are no phenotypic reminders that would indicate the large scale use of this form of labor. Azoreans who I talked to claim that the first time many of them ever saw blacks on the islands was following the revolution in 1974, when a small number arrived after the independence of the African colonies. The confusion about slavery on the Azores extends to continental Portugal. Shortly after the second World War, a Portuguese naval vessel arrived at the port of Horta and a local worker heard a voice shout "há brancos aqui"(there are whites here). It is a mistake to assume that the Portuguese traded only in African slaves, for enslaved Moors and whites from the Canaries were used to build the irrigation systems on Madeira.⁵⁹ The Canaries, however, only served as a source of slaves for a short period and by the time of full-scale settlement of the Azores the majority of the slave trade revolved around captured Africans.

Part of the confusion surrounding the slave issue on the Azores is the tendency for writers to lump the archipelago in with the other Portuguese Atlantic Islands. Slave labor was readily used on Madeira, the Cape Verdes and São Tome, and these island groups represent what would be commonly referred to as slave or plantation economies. But the Azores were radically different for on the islands production was based on a rent system where small producers paid a specified amount to a landlord. Why slavery was used by European colonial powers, in some regions and not in others, is a question that many historians have considered. For example, Eric Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* established the linkages between expanding capitalist relations and the growth of the slave trade. Williams provides the following clue as to why slave labor was not used on the Azores.

⁵⁹ Greenfield, (1977).

Fernando Ortíz has drawn a striking contrast between the role of tobacco and sugar in Cuban history. Tobacco was a free white industry intensively cultivated on small farms; sugar was a black slave industry extensively cultivated on plantations.⁶⁰

Other historians have focused on the slave trade, and a general consensus among these writers seems to be that if alternate forms of labor had been available then slave labor would only have been used as a last resort.⁶¹ Avelino Meneses attributes the absence of slaves after 1580 in the Azores to the Babylonian Captivity (1580-1640) when slaves were rewarded with their freedom for defending national territory against the Spanish. In explaining why slaves were not needed in the Azores, Meneses follows Rocha Gil and argues that with the emergence of a large salaried class of workers at the end of the sixteenth century the requirement for slave labor decreased.⁶²

There is historical evidence for slavery on the Azores, but the question is again one of scale. In the Archives of the Azores there are scattered references to slaves, but none of this information indicates the wide-scale use of slave labor in agriculture. To the contrary, some of the documentation seems to purport that there were official restrictions on the use of slave labor in the Azores. On the island of Pico, for example, the 1511 charter of Jos Dutra prohibits the use of slaves for cattle-raising; this enterprise being exclusively

⁶⁰ E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, (Chapel Hill, 1944), 21.

⁶¹ The economies that were characterized by plantation slavery are nicely chronicled in *Comparative Perspectives on Slavery in the New World*, V. Ruben and A. Tuden (eds), (New York, 1977). Greenfield (1977) writes that the use of slaves on Madeira freed the settlers from the onerous tasks that they had performed on the continent and "enabled the upwardly mobile settlers of Madeira to develop a life style, derived from the tradition of the continental nobility but based on the physical efforts of slaves producing commercial crops for sale on the markets of the continent (541).

⁶² A. Meneses, *Os Açores e o Domínio Filipino*, (Angra do Heroísmo, 1987), 332.

reserved for white married men.⁶³ Slaves are mentioned in other contexts in the archives but these references are for the most part related to the transoceanic movement of slaves. Money obtained through the slave trade was used to purchase wheat on the islands and Azorean based merchants participated in the Atlantic commercial triangle that brought slaves to Brazil in exchange for sugar.⁶⁴ Because slave ships stopped in the Azores, there were slaves at times on the islands in various numbers, but it is not clear as to what extent they were involved in the actual process of production.

There is a list of slaves for Horta in 1832 which reveals how slave labor may have been used on the islands. The number of slaves in Horta at that time was 45, of whom 9 were males and the rest women.⁶⁵ While this is not absolute evidence that slaves were not used in agricultural production, the sexual ratio does suggest that the majority of slaves were used in a domestic capacity. In the Americas much of the heavy agricultural labor was undertaken by women while males worked in specialized occupations.⁶⁶ In an agricultural economy dependent on slave labor, it would therefore not be unusual to find a higher percentage of female slaves which does happen to be the case for the Azores. But numerically, slaves only represented a small part of the population. On Faial, in 1800 there were approximately 16,000 people, so slaves constituted less than 1% of the population.

A list of slaves on Flores compiled by Jacob Tomaz provides another example for Azorean slavery. Tomaz became curious about the slave heritage of Flores after an Englishman, who was interested in folk music, stopped over

⁶³ *Arquivo dos Açores*, XII, 404.

⁶⁴ Rocha Gil, (1979), 214.

⁶⁵ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. VIII.

⁶⁶ C. Woodward, review of *Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom*, by Peter Kochin, New York Review of Books, Nov. 19, (1987).

on the island and alerted Tomaz to the fact that some of the regional melodies might be of African origin, namely from the Sudan and Abyssinia. Tomaz thought that a number of words in Azorean Portuguese were from an African dialect and that the melodies of some of the local folk tunes had a distinctive African air (rhythm). In his list, Tomaz reports 72 baptisms, 2 marriages and 39 deaths.⁶⁷ Again, the number is not very large. Flores had a resident population in the early 1700s of about 3000 people which almost doubled by 1800 when there were 5800 residents. Even if one assumes that there were 80 active slaves in the mid-eighteenth century this would still only constitute 2% of the total population.

The issue of why slavery was not introduced in the Azores becomes clearer when one examines the cost of free labor as opposed to the cost of using slave labor. In 1632, a day laborer in São Miguel, the most populous island with between thirty and forty thousand people, would earn between 20 to 60 *reis* a day depending on the job. Specialized work would provide larger remuneration, sometimes reaching 50 *reis* a day⁶⁸ During this same year, in an inventory of an estate, Rocha Gil provides the following values for slaves:

Table 5. 2
Slave Prices in the Azores in the Sixteenth Century

<u>Category</u>	<u>Amount in Reis</u>
Adult Male	40,000
Adult Female	15-46,000
Young Male	15,000
Young Female	6-8,000

Source: Rocha Gil (1979), 196.

⁶⁷ J. Tomaz, "Lista dos Escravos da Ilha das Flores," *Boletim do Núcleo Cultural da Horta*, Vol. 4, (1966-67).

⁶⁸ Rocha Gil, (1979), 281.

Despite, the evidence against slavery on the Azores, many historians and social scientists seem to have a compelling propensity to insert slaves into the Azorean milieu at every opportunity. Sidney Mintz, the anthropological expert on Caribbean plantation economies uses a quote by Sidney Greenfield to describe how sugar cane implanted itself on the Azores.

In...a series of experiments, the plantation system, now combining African slaves under the authority of European settlers in a racially mixed society, producing sugar cane and other crops, spread as island after island [the Madeira Islands, including Madeira, La Palma, and Hierro; the Canary Islands, including Tenerife, Gran Canaria, and Fuerteventura; the nine widely scattered islands that compose the Azores; the Cape Verde Islands, including Boa Vista, Sto. Antão, and São Tiago; São Tomé and Príncipe; etc.] was integrated as part of the expanding kingdom.⁶⁹

Donald Taft, in a doctoral dissertation published in 1923, writes that "the question of the Negroid element in the Portuguese nationality, is a difficult but important one."⁷⁰ Taft while using the general category of Portuguese is actually referring to Azoreans as his work in New England was done on Portuguese of Azorean descent. It is Taft's contention that through various processes of diffusion, Negroid characteristics entered the Portuguese gene pool. Through a long process of admixture brought on through historical contact and a general attitude to promiscuous interaction with other races, the lower classes of Azorean society have become distinctively Negroid in character.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Mintz, (1986), 30-31.

⁷⁰ D. Taft, *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*, (New York, 1969), 26.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

If African slave labor was used in the Azores, it must have been used clandestinely, and then for only a short period of time. Phenotypically, Azoreans are predominantly white. There are many blonds who are in all probability genetic descendents of the Flemish settlers who arrived in the Azores in 1466. And there are many Azoreans of a Mediterranean type, who are indistinguishable from their hereditary ancestors in the Algarve region of Portugal, another source of fifteenth century migrants. Today, there are people of African ancestry on the islands, but they have either arrived recently from the Cape Verde Islands, or they came from Angola or Mozambique after independence in 1974. The early migrants to the Azores from Portugal were most likely drawn from the disenfranchised peasants who were finding life intolerable on the mainland. On the whole, slaves represented such a small part of the population they were probably most frequently used for domestic activity. Due to the availability, and the low cost, of free labor on the Azores, there was no need to use slave labor for agricultural purposes on the islands.

Because of the general shortage of labor in the Azores today, many Cape Verdeans are immigrating to the islands. Much of the earthquake reconstruction on Angra do Heroismo is being done by Cape Verdeans and some also come to Faial to do construction work. If there is a consistent influx of Cape Verdean labor, ethnographers in the future, if they consult the historical literature, may mistakenly assume that these laborers are descendents of slaves.

Postscript

Many writers couch the settling of the Atlantic archipelagos in creationist terminology and compare life in the formative years on the islands with Adam and Eve's experiences in the Garden of Eden. The settlers themselves reinforced this notion of a return to a pristine life form by naming the first children born on Madeira, Adam and Eve.⁷² The time of "Genesis" would, however, prove to be short-lived. While the Azores climate and agricultural fertility may conform to the image of a "Garden of Eden", the island residents were not able to enjoy the solitude of pristine life. For the settling of the Azores coincided with the emergence of a new era in human history—an era some historians refer to as the modern period, and others delineate as the beginnings of capitalism.

Whatever the terminology, the destiny of the Azores was closely linked to the growth of this new era. At the time of settlement, each Azorean island had its particular virtues. Pico, for instance, was considered lucrative because of its vast forests, a resource that would facilitate ship repairs as the islands increasingly became a stopping point for ships returning from the Indies and Brazil. Santa Maria with its "well-watered valleys" produced what was "reputed to be the finest wheat in the Azores".⁷³ The Azores as a whole were strategically placed and functioned and served Portuguese interests in a number of important ways. The islands' geographic position allowed for the provisioning of ships and the Azores' role as a stopping over point has had functional advantages for the Portuguese. But to only focus on the Azores as a port of trade or a transportation point, denies the reality that the Azorean

⁷² Boxer, (1969).

⁷³ Duncan, (1972), 97.

socio-economic system underwent significant changes as a result of this contact. The Azores have another history, and that history has been dictated by the tendency towards monocropping, or the reliance on particular export commodities, with monopolies established in Lisbon preventing any attempts at diversification. These policies have made the Azorean economy especially susceptible to the vagaries of market forces.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Rocha Gil, (1979).

THE COMMODITIES: THE CYCLICAL NATURE OF THE AZOREAN ECONOMY, 1443-1700

Migrants colonized the Azores and soon after the first group of migrants left the islands for Brazil in search of a better way of life. As it was with settling the Azores there were promises of land, no taxes beside a mandatory religious tithe, plus free passage for those who wanted to go. Migration to Brazil would provide a solution for two problems: over population and relocation for those who had been displaced through volcanic disturbances. These early departures became a constant in Azorean life and outmigration has been a definitive aspect of the historical development of the islands.

One observes that, although this type of migration reveals an obvious organization, following the patterns, the orientation and the market rhythms dictated by government directives, it is less certain that there were certain constants in these departures; people tormented by misery, by the unmercifulness of nature, by the disasters, etc., finding in the lands of the New World the hope for a better standard of living. To attribute everything to this form of escape is debatable, as it is not clear how many possibilities to migrate were open to the numerous poor families in the parishes with excess population in relation to those who had ties to the old social and economic structures that dominated the archipelago.¹

¹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 31.

From this first migrational experience, a pattern began to emerge. The migration of Azorean labor to Brazil fit the economic program of the Portuguese state. While Azoreans left to take advantage of new economic opportunities, the "ideology of return" and the longing for their ancestral lands emerged as a driving force that in many cases guaranteed their success in the new lands. Azorean migrants have been described as thrifty, as hardworkers who save their money for their eventual return to the islands. More than a few of the migrants who left in the sixteenth and seventeenth century had returned by the eighteenth century and invested their savings in land and commerce.

William Walker, in a nineteenth century monograph on the Azores, writes that "it is strange to reflect upon the rise, temporary prosperity, and general decay of successive industries on the islands."² In this chapter I examine these industries and attempt to account for the boom/bust cycles that characterized the first 250 years of Azorean economic history. The cycles of prosperity and decline began in the late fifteenth century with sugar cane, cereals and dyes and with the disappearance of the export market for these crops towards the end of the seventeenth century the pattern of outmigration from the islands begins. The commodities discussed in this chapter had primarily an old world market. Wheat was traded in Africa and to a certain extent on the European market. Pastel was a dye that was exported from the islands and the primary market for this commodity was the manufacturing cities in England. The fate of both of these major island crops were linked to external factors: with the increased demand for pastel on the European

² Walker (1886).

market, the cultivation of wheat declined; and with the discovery of a better dye source, indigo, and the instigation of the "putting out" system in England, the market for pastel disappeared. The New World transplant *maize* was temporarily introduced in the sixteenth century but only became important after the market value of the other crops declined and then it was incorporated into Azorean life as a subsistence and not a cash crop.³

The system of monocropping introduced in the Portuguese colonies, and the precarious situation that evolved from this reliance on a single crop established a dependency on external market interests and linked the colonies with an expanding world economy. This dependency "subjected the Atlantic Islands and the South American colonies to the infernal system of cycles...that created brief moments of prosperity, followed by crisis periods and the search for new solutions."⁴

³ There are two recent sources for the Azores in the seventeenth century, albeit from radically different perspectives. Bentley Duncan's study *Atlantic Islands* (1972) is an informative comparison of the Portuguese Atlantic Islands: the Azores, Madeira and the Cape Verdes. Duncan outlines the similarities and differences between these island groups and convincingly elucidates their intertwined histories. Although Duncan does not employ a formal theoretical framework, his methodological orientation implicitly becomes clear as he describes the rise and fall of commodities from a competitive market perspective. The "invisible hand" of Adam Smith is, thus, according to Duncan, responsible for the decline of pastel as it is outcompeted on the free market by American indigo—"a cheaper and more efficient dye" (92). The other recent source for the Açores in the seventeenth century is Maria da Olympia Rocha Gil (1979; 1981). Rocha Gil's primary objective in her work is to elucidate how the Azorean economy is related to the development of international commerce, and how production and trade on the islands must be understood in the context of an emerging world economy. To Rocha Gil (1979:421), participation in the world economy created the conditions for "prosperity at determined historical moments" but also made the islands extremely vulnerable in times of crisis. Rocha Gil, I believe, demarcates the fundamental linkages that have made the Açores so susceptible to market conditions. For the most part, the theoretical position that I utilize is based on Rocha Gil's historical analysis.

⁴ Rocha Gil, (1981), 391.

Wheat

In Europe, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the numerous agricultural crises had contributed to critical shortages of basic foodstuffs, primarily cereal grains. There is a general thesis held by many authors that population growth during this period proceeded at such a phenomenal rate that the ability to produce a surplus to accommodate this growth was seriously undermined. This classical Malthusian position, however, does not take into consideration other exigencies that contributed to a decline in agricultural activity. Labor, in many regions throughout Europe was becoming increasingly specialized, as peasants who had left the land found work in the booming manufacturing centers in Flanders and the central European and Italian city states. Larger agricultural surpluses were required to feed this nascent proletariat, yet much of the agricultural land that was still under cultivation was being turned over to cashcropping.⁵ The chronic deficiencies in basic foodstuffs forced more specialized nations such as the Netherlands and England to continually search for new sources of grains. The Portuguese found a solution to their food problem by cultivating wheat on the Atlantic islands. But production of essential grains would periodically wane on the islands as land was devoted to the more lucrative enterprise of cashcropping. Despite the intermittent appearance of crops such as pastel and oranges in the Azores, wheat never totally disappeared. As the fortunes of other crops declined, wheat would be rejuvenated.

Wheat was the first crop to be introduced in the Azores on a large-scale, and was cultivated most extensively on the islands of São Miguel and Santa

⁵ Davis, (1973), 19.

Maria. As the more westward islands were settled wheat was grown on them as well. The initial reasons for the introduction of wheat on the Azores were to satisfy internal consumption needs within continental Portugal, and later, in the expanding colonial empire.⁶ The periodic shortages and the crisis they stimulated, both on the islands and the continent, attests to wheat's importance as both a food source and export crop during the early years of colonial expansion. The Azores, writes Vitorino Godinho, were during the early years of colonial expansion known as the "granary of Portugal".⁷

Table 6. 1

Wheat and Urzella Production: 1490-1497 on Santa Maria

Year	Reis	Wheat			Urzella	
		Moios	alquieres	quartas	quintaes	arrobas
1490	3,340	53	9	2	98	-----
1491	11,900	43	58	-----	-----	-----
1492	25,617	79	5	-----	87	-----
1493	32,810	94	40	2	-----	-----
1496	60,245	97	38	-----	302	2 1/2

Source: *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol I, 50.

Wheat from the Azores was exported to all parts of the Portuguese Empire.⁸ The interdependence of the Portuguese colonies, or what is commonly referred to as the "First Empire", is emphasized in a royal letter to Antonio Borges in 1523 which refers to the purchase of wheat in the islands and its transfer to the African colonies. The letter states that the *almojarife* (the official tax collector) has in his possession 200,000 *reis*, obtained through the sale of slaves, to be used to buy wheat on the islands. The

⁶ da Cunha et al., *A Agricultura Açoriana*, (Lisbon, 1970).

⁷ Godinho, (1975), 62.

⁸ Marques, (1983), 261.

communication makes clear that revenues obtained from one commodity, in this case slaves, were used to purchase another commodity--wheat.⁹ Marques writes that wheat was in high demand in Africa and the Portuguese traded it for a commodity (gold) that was in great demand in Europe.¹⁰ The islands were part of a triangular trade that saw profits obtained in one area (slaves) invested in another (wheat) to obtain a more negotiable form of currency (gold). In order to produce the surplus to purchase these other negotiables, production levels needed to be intensified.¹¹

Despite the increments in production on the Azores, there were still periodic shortages of cereal grains on the mainland: scarcities that were intensified because the soldiers and those who participated in expansion activities needed to be fed; and since the value of wheat was increasing throughout Europe it was often exported and not reserved for internal consumption. The "great famine" (1521-1522) in continental Portugal can at least indirectly be related to an increase in the price of wheat which made it more valuable as a commodity on the European market. Castro estimates that in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, total production for the Azores had reached 12,000 to 15,000 *moios* annually.¹²

Table 6. 2 below shows the increasing value of wheat over a forty year period and denotes the importance of wheat as a cash crop for the Azores. The market prices for the Azores coincide with those that Grigg provides for England for these same years and point to the existence of a general pricing

⁹ *Arquivo Dos Açores*, Vol. I, 228-229.

¹⁰ Marques (1976), 159.

¹¹ Geertz, (1963) outlines similar increases in production for certain commodities in Indonesia as a result of Dutch mercantile policies.

¹² Castro, (1985), 89.

system for Europe.¹³ The changes in prices are more indicative, however, in the manner in which they influenced economic negotiations on the local level. In 1508, Gaspar Frutuoso recounts that Fernão d'Alvres, a resident of Ribeira Grande on the island of São Miguel, went home with good news to tell his wife: a *moio* of wheat was now valued at six *tostoes* (one *tostão* = 100 *reis*); it was a great price, and he had a lot to sell. The following year, *na era de nove*, Pedreanes, bought a pair of shoes for his servant for six *alqueires* (60 *alqueires* = 1 *moio*) of wheat. The market value of the shoes at this time was 40 *reis*, and according to the 1509 price one *alqueire* was valued, at 400/60, at about 6.6 *reis*. At (6.6×6) 39.6 *reis*, the shoes were purchased slightly below the market value of 40 *reis*. Wheat was quite frequently used as currency in transactions, and the market value of wheat determined what Pedreanes paid for his servant's shoes.¹⁴ By the time the wheat that Pedreanes produced was brought to market in Europe its value in all probability increased. Considering general continental shortages and currency depreciations (see below), a change in the price of wheat on the islands would not have reduced merchant profits.

The fall in the market value of wheat between 1508 and 1509 can be attributed to a number of factors. The introduction of corn, which had been brought back from the New World by the Spanish, on the continent may have temporarily reduced the need to import wheat from the Azores. In Portugal, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the royal court had encouraged the cultivation of land that had been lying fallow, and this strategy may have been more productive in some years than in others.

¹³ Grigg, 1980.

¹⁴ Frutuoso, (1981), 168.

Consequently, continental surpluses may have contributed to a decrease in prices.¹⁵ Production levels in the Azores may also have been low for 1508 promoting an escalation in the market value of wheat.¹⁶

Table 6. 2
Price list for Wheat in Ponta Delgada, Azores.

The first column is the year, followed by the price in *Reis per Moio**

1500	240	1510-1	240	1521	2000	1531	3200
1501	240	1512	240	1522	2500	1532	1600
1502	240	1513	600	1523	1000	1533	2000
1503	240	1514	1400	1524	3100	1534	2000
1504	240	1515	800	1525	1000	1535	2200
1505	240	1516	1000	1526	1800	1536	2000
1506	240	1517	1000	1527	2000	1537	1900
1507	300	1518	1600	1528	2200	1538	2350
1508	600	1519	1500	1529	3000	1539	3450
1509	400	1520	2000	1530	3300	1540	3450

Source: *Arquivo dos Açores*: Vol. I, 525-526

* The value of wheat fluctuated during the years 1538, 1539 and 1540. The amounts listed are averages for those years.

Price fluctuations for wheat can also be seen in terms of demand for the commodity in other parts of the growing colonial empire. Wheat from the Azores had reduced the need to import this food commodity from Andalusia, another major supplier, but even though production was increasing, there were still frequent shortages in Lisbon. Another factor that Duncan outlines is that the Azorean population was growing and higher internal consumption needs had to be met. Duncan's estimate is that domestic consumption was approximately 1/3 *moio* or 20 *alqueires* per head per annum.¹⁷ Population size for the total Azores in the first quarter of the

¹⁵ Marques (1976).

¹⁶ Meneses, (1987), 242.

¹⁷ Duncan, (1972), 95.

fifteenth century can be roughly estimated at about 25, 000. Using Duncan's figures for average per capita consumption and considering that the Azores had an annual wheat yield of 12, 000 to 15, 000 *moios*, the local population would have required at least 9000 *moios* to meet basic subsistence needs. These calculations would provide a surplus of about 3000 to 6000 *moios* a year, scarcely enough to provide biscuit for the armadas that stopped in the Azores to provision. Yet, the Azores were a wheat exporting region so a significant quantity of the wheat produced must have entered the sphere of circulation and was not used for island consumption.

Another factor that affected local availability was that the value of wheat fluctuated. Local merchants, who were intermediaries between the large foreign merchants and local producers, took advantage of price changes and demand in other regions of the empire to realize greater profits. At times, wheat was exported immediately after the harvest, the most opportune time to realize a strong profit, but it was a strategy that sometimes contributed to scarcity. The value of wheat varied in term of the supply on hand as well as the market demand at specific periods of time. In 1534, for example, the price of wheat fluctuated in the following manner: April 21; 1900 *reis*; May 21; 2100 *reis*; August 14; 1950 *reis*; September 16; 2000 *reis*.¹⁸ Madeira, which was having its own disastrous experience with monocropping, was chronically in need of wheat and these shortages caused the local government to commandeer ships and force them to go to the Azores to try to purchase wheat.¹⁹ In 1696, the British merchant, William Bolton, paid 15,000 *reis* per *moio* for a lot of 100 *moios* in the Azores that he intended to resell in

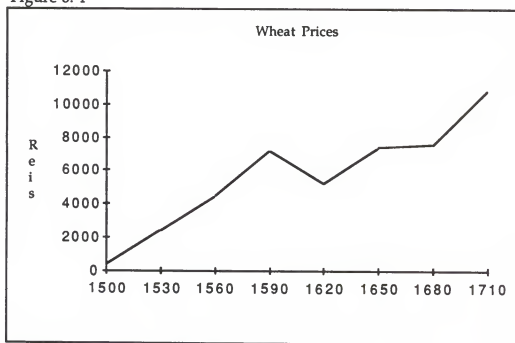
¹⁸ Rocha Gil, (1979), 62.

¹⁹ Duncan, (1972).

Madeira.²⁰ The price of wheat listed in the archives for this year is between 7,200 and 9,600 *reis* per *moio* which indicates that Bolton paid almost double the market value for wheat. The profits to be made from wheat steadily rose as the price increased throughout the sixteenth century.

The differences in the value of currency and how weight was determined between the islands and the mainland contributed to crop speculation. The Azorean *reis* was debased by as much as 25% in comparison to the continental *reis* (*reis fracos* as opposed to *reis fortes*). For example, Marques lists the price of wheat in Portugal in the middle of the sixteenth century at 60 *reis* a bushel.²¹

Figure 6. 1



Wheat Prices: Azores, 1500-1710

Source: *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol., I.

²⁰ Ibid., 68.

²¹ Marques, (1976), 279.

Although the weight system varied considerably between Lisbon and the colonies, a high estimation of continental weight would be 26.18 English bushels=1 *moio*. This calculation would put a continental *moio* at 1570.8 *reis*. The price per *moio* in the Azores for the same year varied between 2,800 and 3,600 *reis*. Taking into consideration the debasement, the equivalent Azorean currency in continental value would be 2100 and 2600. The deviations in value of currency would in itself lead to considerable profits. Differences in determining weight also increased the profits of merchants. A *moio* might range from anywhere from 14 to 64 *alqueires* (with the *alqueire* itself being variable), depending on where one was in the Empire.²² Merchants who invested in wheat in the Azores were subsequently involved in more than just augmenting their trade repertoire and stimulating the circulation of commodities. By manipulating currency values and weight differentials, merchants increased their profit margin substantially.

A royal communication, towards the end of the sixteenth century, highlights the concern of the royal court in the increasing speculative nature of the sale of wheat in the Azores. The king was particularly worried about the landowners and the merchants hoarding wheat to be used solely for sale on the market. In 1591, Philip I (1580-1598) presented a charter regulating the price of wheat to ensure that the price did not extend beyond the reach of the poor, and also to guarantee that his soldiers stationed on the islands would have access to sufficient quantities of food. The king threatened those who acted against his orders with banishment to "places in Africa".²³ Between 1585 and 1592, official correspondence between the Azores and the mainland

²² Castro, (1985), 258.

²³ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol., VIII, 154-155.

continually refers to the lack of wheat on the islands and that the foodstuff is desperately needed to avoid famine.²⁴ Marques attributes wheat shortages at the end of the sixteenth century in continental Portugal to the increased cultivation of corn which led to a decline in the production of wheat.²⁵ Wheat shortages on the Azores, however, were related to other factors, as corn did not become an established crop on the islands until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The scarcity of wheat at this time on the Azores can be attributed in part to an increase in production of pastel, for after 1576, more land every year was turned over to this cash crop.²⁶ The replacement of wheat by pastel was more profound on São Miguel, and to a lesser extent, Terceira, than on the other islands. While all the islands probably produced some quantities of pastel, regional specialization had developed to the degree where the more powerful, centralized islands of São Miguel and Terceira grew the most lucrative crop, while the other islands cultivated the *abastecimentos* (food stuffs) and minor commodities for export. Insular island traffic complimented international trade as small boats traveled through the island systems nonstop redistributing the manufactures obtained through international trade.²⁷ The economic domination of the island system by the main islands of São Miguel and Terceira still persists today.

Wheat production almost doubled in the Azores during the sixteenth century and by the end of the century production had increased to 21,000 to 24,000 *moios* a year.²⁸ In 1701, almost a quarter decade after the demise of

²⁴ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol., II, 107, 314. Vol., IV, 148.

²⁵ Marques, (1976), 272.

²⁶ Marques, (1983), 261.

²⁷ Meneses, (1987), 268-269.

²⁸ Castro (1985), 89.

pastel, wheat production for the total archipelago was 40,000 *moios*.²⁹ During the intervening years the population had grown by 40% and theoretically would need almost the total harvest for consumption needs. Wheat was only a minor crop in comparison to pastel, but its relative importance in value can be seen in the constant increase in price through the early sixteenth century (see Figure 6. 1).

The transition from pastel back to wheat production was not a smooth one. In 1680 after pastel had declined, a shortage of cereal grains on the islands of São Miguel and Terceira led to revolts. There had been problems of shortages of wheat throughout the boom period of pastel, and local islanders sometimes attacked ships that were being loaded to export this essential food source. The "bread riots" in 1695 on the island of São Miguel indicate that discontent was widespread. A rebel leader, Manuel Pacheco, had taken control of Agua de Pau, a small town, in an attempt to force the local government to lower food prices. Pacheco's siege was short-lived, for within a month, the count of Ribeira Grande, together with loyal *fidalgos* had contained the rioters—but not before concessions were granted.³⁰ The revolts were not limited to São Miguel and spread to the other islands. On São Jorge, there was the *inhames* revolt of 1691 to protest rising prices.³¹ In an attempt to diffuse the riots, the prices of maize and salt were officially set at 80 reis per alqueire and wheat at 180 reis per alqueire and exports were banned until local subsistence needs had been met.³²

²⁹ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. I, 499.

³⁰ Duncan, (1972).

³¹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 451.

³² Duncan, (1972).99.

What might have emerged during the early 1700s is a two tier price system for wheat. Export prices may have conformed to market demand while a ceiling was maintained internally on the islands. Following the "bread riots" of 1695 there had been a ceiling placed on wheat for local consumption, but this apparently did not effect the export value of wheat. The price of wheat remained constant with only slight increases and decreases for the next century.

Pastel

The rise and decline of pastel represented a critical moment in Azorean history. For it was this commodity that directly linked the Azores with an expanding world economy. The evolution of pastel as a cash crop, and in particular its emergence and disappearance in the Azores, was an intrinsic part of a larger historical process. By the time of the intensification of production of pastel in the Azores the line between regions devoted to primary production and those specialized in secondary manufacture had already been demarcated. Although pastel had been grown in the Azores since the late fifteenth century, it was not until about 1575 that it became a dominant economic force on the islands. The boom period for pastel would last less than a century: by 1676 exports were minimal, and by the end of the seventeenth century pastel had disappeared almost altogether. Its brief prominence, however, would leave an indelible mark on Azorean society.

Dyes were an important component in textile manufacturing well before the Azores became involved in dye cultivation in the sixteenth century. New dyes that provided a different color or bonded better with certain materials would inevitably open up new market possibilities. To a large degree, the continuing expansion of the textile regions depended on

access to the primary materials necessary for production. But the manufacturers success was based not only on the ability to produce a variety of commodities efficiently, it was also based on the ability to find markets to sell or exchange these commodities. In order to augment profits, the merchants sought to pay for the raw materials with the commodities that they produced from these materials. The Azores in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were both a supplier of raw materials for the northern industrial centers and a market for the textiles manufactured by these centers.

Pastel was an anomaly in the world of commodities in the sixteenth century. While spices from the Indies, gold and slaves from Africa, and silver from the Americas, to a large extent created the momentum for colonial expansion, they all had one thing in common: their relative scarcity increased their value on the European market. Pastel, however, had a different history for it was readily available in Europe. It had apparently been used by the Italians as early as the tenth century and "Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and England all produced pastel in the sixteenth century."³³ Coincidentally, many of these medieval producers of pastel would become the chief importers of this commodity from the Azores.

According to Gaspar Frutuoso, pastel was brought to São Miguel by one Guvarte Luis, a "foreigner" from Flanders.³⁴ Who Luis actually was has confused historians, primarily because of the practise of writing names in various manners. From a footnote to Frutuoso's text, it appears that Luis's ancestors were from Faial where there was already a tradition of pastel cultivation.³⁵ Although, sources for this period are scarce, one can surmise

³³ Duncan, (1972), 86.

³⁴ Frutuoso, (1981), 208.

³⁵ Lima, (1943).

that the Flemish captains maintained their connections with Flanders and began to produce dyes for export on a small scale shortly after the colonization of the central island group. Much of the economic activity between Flanders and Portugal was initiated by "Flemish and Portuguese traders"³⁶ and the crown sometimes only became involved after the infrastructure for a commodity had been established. As demand for pastel increased on the European market, production of the dye was expanded to the larger island of São Miguel as well as Terceira.

The development of pastel as an export crop began well before 1570, the year it became a prominent commodity in the Azores. On May 14, 1538, Pero Anes do Canto wrote to the king to say that production of pastel on Terceira had increased from fifteen to sixteen thousand *quintais* a year to twenty thousand *quintais* annually. The king's share of the former amount had been between two and three thousand *quintais* and Anes do Canto was communicating the increase for future reference.³⁷ On October 15, 1538, Anes do Canto again wrote to the king advising him that it would be more profitable to export pastel in the form of grain rather than as balls.³⁸ Pastel thus established what would become a familiar pattern for commodities in the Azores. Commodity production would begin on a small scale, the royal court would be alerted as to potential profits, and then intensified production would commence.

The large scale cultivation of pastel rapidly transformed life on the islands. Forested land was cleared to expand production and the intervention of the king increased. The king had initially offered the settlers in the Azores

³⁶ Marques, (1976), 172.

³⁷ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol., I, 123.

³⁸ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol., I, 127.

certain concessions to ensure colonization. In conjunction with these concessions, Dom Manuel in 1515 had removed the tax on wheat exported from the islands to Lisbon, ostensibly to provide an incentive to raise the production of cereals.³⁹ But with the high profit margins of pastel, this arrangement was adjusted and higher taxes were imposed on the producers. One *moio* of land under wheat cultivation produced approximately 15 *moios* of wheat. The king's share of the harvest was approximately one and a half *moios* which had a market value of 15 *cruzados* (6000 *reis*). The same land under pastel cultivation would produce 300 *quintais* of which the king received some 90 *quintais*. The king's share of the pastel had a market value of 250 *cruzados* (100,000 *reis*).⁴⁰ Even before pastel prices increased in 1570, the profit margin for pastel was still substantially higher than wheat.

The mechanisms which coerced the producer to shift from wheat to pastel production were subtle. The king relinquished the exclusive right of control by captains over the water mills that were used to grind the wheat and allowed individual producers to keep their own mills at their own expense. The king's motives can be interpreted in a number of ways. The decentralization of the wheat milling process was supposed to increase efficiency—a move from a centralized system to one which gave the producers more direct control and more incentive to grow this wheat. Or, the king realized that the costs incurred purchasing the mills and producing wheat, in relation to the higher profits realized through pastel production, would induce the *lavradores* to grow pastel.

³⁹ Rocha Gil, 1981.

⁴⁰ Fructuoso, (1981), 208.

As the Azores were incorporated into a market economy, they become more susceptible to the structural forces that condition that economy. Cashcropping and large scale production for the market had a simultaneous impact on the prices for subsistence goods. Increased production of pastel led to rapid inflation. Frutuoso describes the new prices for basic commodities as if they belonged to a new era.⁴¹ He contrasts the costs of basic foodstuffs in the 1570s, shortly after the intensification of pastel production, with prices *naquele tempo antigo*, and lists the increases over the course of approximately sixty years. A pig that in 1511 cost the equivalent of 200 *reis* was valued at 7000 *reis* after 1570. An ox in the old times which had cost 1000 *reis* or less now sold for 10,000 *reis*. The rampant escalation in prices did, as Frutuoso wrote, symbolize a new epoch in Azorean history.

With the boom of pastel, there was a significant increase in the number of foreign merchants on the Azores. Many of the merchants represented larger interests and their connections tied the Azores directly to the manufacturing centers. During the early part of the seventeenth century, the increase in the production of pastel interconnected many divergent interests. Although Flanders and England were Portugal's major trading partners, not all of the pastel trade was directed northward, for large shipments also went to southern Spain. In 1612, for example, a merchant from Seville, João Roiz, bought 100 *quintais* of pastel and paid a Flemish "master", Willem de Suãorte, to carry the shipment to Spain.⁴² There were many Portuguese merchants based in Seville, and Rocha Gil writes that the trade between Ponta Delgada and this southern entrepot was voluminous.⁴³ Merchants

⁴¹ Ibid, (1981), 207.

⁴² Rocha Gil, (1979) 213.

⁴³ Ibid, (1979), 213.

who brought textiles to the Azores were at times obligated to use their ships to transport wheat to Madeira and the northern African Portuguese colonies, before returning to take on cargos of pastel. Some of the merchants stayed on in the Azores even after the demise of pastel, busying themselves coordinating the sale and delivery of wheat and other minor commodities such as linen to Lisbon and Madeira. Almost all the trade between 1669 and 1676 was controlled by two British merchants, João and Guilherme Chamberlim (John and William Chamberlin).⁴⁴ The Chamberlins were well integrated into Portuguese life, "with Portuguese wives and close associations with the best families of São Miguel."⁴⁵

The medium of exchange, to a large extent, was the textiles that the merchants had procured in northern Europe. Textiles were not just imported as a means of paying for primary resources, but were used as a form of currency between merchants and producers on the local level. In the latter instance, the merchants always used the current exchange rate to price their merchandise.

In 1629, Duarte Neumão, an English merchant established in Ponta Delgada bought from the *lavrador*, Agostinho Raposo, 216 quintais, 2 *arrobas* and 10 *arrateis* of pastel in the form of grain....The merchant paid in products.⁴⁶

The exchange of primary materials for manufactured commodities, and the inequitable exchange relationship that resulted as a consequence, effected the balance of payments. Even though Azorean pastel which had been used to pay for imports declined in value on the European market,

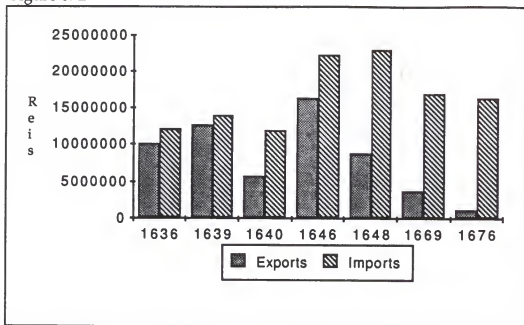
⁴⁴ Rocha Gil, (1979), 237.

⁴⁵ Duncan, (1972), 106.

⁴⁶ Rocha Gil, (1979), 222-223.

northern manufactures were imported at constant levels and flooded the local market. The degree of dependency on northern trade is emphasized in the following figure.

Figure 6. 2



Export/Import from the Azores in the Seventeenth Century
Source: Rocha Gil (1981), 384.

By 1636, pastel exports had dropped significantly: in 1633, total exports are listed at 24,610 quintais, while the 1639 register lists 14,255 quintais.⁴⁷ The low export figure for 1640 can be attributed to the revolt against Spain during that year. The first local action against the Spanish occurred in Terceira in December of 1640 and this may have led to a reduction in exports.⁴⁸ Rocha Gil documents the trade between the Azores and Seville and describes it as quite extensive,⁴⁹ but the records for ships leaving Ponta Delgada in 1639 indicate that out of a total of 15 ships disembarking with pastel only one listed

⁴⁷ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. XII, 4-5).

⁴⁸ Duncan, (1972), 115.

⁴⁹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 213.

a destination for Spanish territory, and this ship went to the Canaries and not Seville.⁵⁰ The next year, out of the ten ships that left Ponta Delgada loaded with pastel, 9 went to England.⁵¹ The direction of the product, or the lines of export were primarily controlled by English merchants.⁵²

In 1645, there was a temporary recovery as trade with England intensified after the separation of the Spanish and Portuguese courts, but this boom was brief. Part of the explanation for the decline in exports can be attributed to a disruption in Spanish trade but there is another underlying factor. By the time of the revolt against Spain, merchants were probably more interested in finding markets for manufactured goods than procuring dyes, for there appeared to be no shortage of supply of *tinturas* in the seventeenth century. One can conclude that the Azores as a market for northern commodities was receiving precedence over its role as a provider of raw materials. Even with the demise of pastel in the 1670's, the Azores collectively were still considered an important market for northern goods.⁵³

Most Portuguese historians attribute the decline of Azorean pastel to the appearance of American indigo on the world market. The reasons for the preference of indigo over pastel, however, are disputed. To many Portuguese historians production in pastel in the Azores declined because of excessive taxation and the introduction of American indigo on the world market. Duncan, however, argues that it was not excessive taxation (as Father Cordeiro the eighteenth century chronicler maintains) that destroyed the pastel market in the Azores, but the inherent qualities of the dye itself. Pastel

⁵⁰ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. XII, 5.

⁵¹ Rocha Gil, (1981), 383.

⁵² Meneses, (1987).

⁵³ Rocha Gil, (1981), 384.

is an expensive source of *indigotin*, the essential dye component of both indigo and pastel. But their chemical composition is all that they have in common, for *indigoten* is much more readily obtained from indigo.⁵⁴ It was also much more inefficient to produce pastel than indigo. Pastel's chief competitor was Central American indigo which was first produced on the Pacific Coast of Central America. In order to reduce transportation costs, the Spanish shifted production to the Yucatan peninsula in Mexico in the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ Figure 6 3 outlines the increase in production of Central American indigo and the higher export figures from the New World coincide with the decline in pastel exports from the Azores.

Central America, Mexico and the Atlantic Islands were not the only sources of pastel in the seventeenth century. British colonial penetration of the Indian subcontinent, and the establishment of a trading station at Surat in 1612 opened up another source of supply of this commodity.⁵⁶ By "1651 it was reported that London had enough indigo on hand to meet all anticipated needs for the next five or six years."⁵⁷ The Azores were only one producer in a world full of potential producers of the raw materials for dyes in the seventeenth century.

By the time of the decline of pastel in the mid sixteenth century, Portugal was caught between Spanish and British colonial interests. The *Filipino* occupation of 1580-1640 had considerably fragmented and drained the Portuguese colonial empire. It is ironic that the commodity that would seemingly drive Azorean pastel from the market was produced in the

⁵⁴ Duncan, (1972), 91.

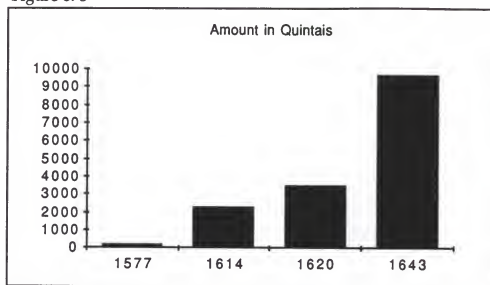
⁵⁵ Wolf, (1982), 140.

⁵⁶ Wolf, (1982), 240.

⁵⁷ Duncan, (1972), 92.

Spanish colonies. It is a further irony that the period when Spanish produced indigo displaced Azorean pastel was the same historical epoch when the crowns of Spain and Portugal were unified.

Figure 6. 3



Export of Central American Indigo to Europe⁵⁸

Source: Duncan, 1972.

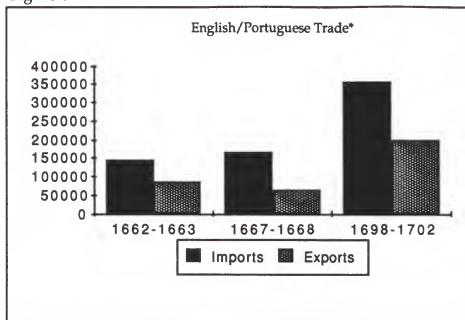
There were royal directives that tried to prevent the large-scale production of pastel in the Azores and landowners were ordered to reserve a portion of their land for wheat cultivation.⁵⁹ With British colonial expansion, a new source of indigo emerged that led to an apparent glut on the world market, driving prices down. In this last context, it is interesting to note that the primary market for both Spanish and Portuguese dyes was England. It was shortly after the decline of pastel that the Portuguese freed

⁵⁸ The above figure is based on figures found in Duncan (1972), 92. The weights that Duncan lists are in pounds, which I convert back to quintais in order to maintain uniformity and allow for easier comparison. In the conversion process I use Castro's (1985), 256, tables for units of weight. Under Castro's conversion system: one new quintal=58.753 kilograms; one old quintal=50.400-51.409 kilograms.

⁵⁹ A. Meneses, (1987), 246.

themselves from Spanish domination to become a "client state" of the expanding British empire.⁶⁰

Figure 6. 4



English/Portuguese Trade: Seventeenth Century
Source: Sirini, (1979).

By 1680, little cultivable land was being used for pastel cultivation and wheat was used as a temporary replacement until the bread revolts of 1695. Following these revolts, the peasants of São Miguel mostly engaged in subsistence activity as they waited for another boom crop to draw international commerce to their island.⁶¹ Although São Miguel was most directly affected by the decline of pastel, the economies of the Azorean islands were interdependent. "The islands traded with each other or served as points of redistribution for commodities that came from the exterior."⁶²

⁶⁰ Murteira, (1979), 124.

⁶¹ Duncan, (1972).

⁶² Rocha Gil, (1979), 250.

During the eighteenth century there were signs of crop diversification in the Azores. The commercial crisis of 1690 in Europe had raised the price of sugar and tobacco and the wine trade between Britain and Portugal had been bolstered as a result of the Anglo-French war. Between 1670 and 1690, an attempt had been made by the Portuguese, with the aide of French technicians, to install local industry that could compete with the French and English.⁶³ In the latter half of the sixteenth century the French helped stimulate the linen industry on São Miguel and this product became a subsidiary export that to some extent replaced pastel in the eighteenth century. While wheat production continued to dominate in terms of actual production yields, other crops such as barley, wine and flax were being produced.

Table 6. 4
Crop Diversity: Azores, 1702.

Island	Wheat	Barley	Wine	Flax
São Miguel	20,000	500	1,000	1,000
Terceira	10,000	500	1,000	250
Faial	2,000	---	---	---
Graciosa	2,000	1,000	2,000	100
Santa Maria	2,000	100	100	200
São Jorge	1,510	---	10,000	---
Pico	1,000	---	20,000	---
Flores	1,500	---	---	---
Corvo	200	---	---	---
Measure	Moio	Moio	Cask	Quintais

Source: *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. X, Pg. 297.

In conclusion, it is again appropriate to turn to the question as to what contributed to the decline of pastel production in the Azores. If indigo was

⁶³ Wallerstein, (1980), 186.

such a superior crop, why would it have taken more than fifty years for the European manufactures to discard pastel for indigo?⁶⁴ Both the British and the Spanish had good sources for indigo, so why would both of these nations continue to import an inferior product? There is the transportation factor; the Azores are much closer to Europe than the other sources for dyes. In a world where oceanic shipments were continually threatened by piracy, distance was always a concern. But if worry about the disruption of the source of dyes was a preoccupation for the textile centers, why would they have moved production to the Azores in the first place? Why not reduce the risk and confine production of pastel to the European continent where it had already enjoyed a long growing history? The answer, I think, is found in the search for markets. Profits are increased substantially if secondary merchandise can be used in trade for primary materials. During the latter years of pastel production in the Azores, it was probably more important for the textile agents to maintain the islands as a viable and sure market for their commodities, than to depend on the islands as a source for dye material.

Corn

The reliance on wheat as a subsistence source as well as an export crop appears to have been resolved with the introduction of the New World domesticate *milho* (corn) in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁵ Corn had been brought to the Old World by the Spanish towards the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth centuries and it was already being grown in Portugal by the early 1500's.⁶⁶ When corn arrived in the Azores is

⁶⁴ Pastel had been readily available since about the middle of the sixteenth century. McAlister, (1984), 221.

⁶⁵ Lima, (1943).

⁶⁶ Marques, (1983), 292.

unclear. There is a new hypothesis by Silvano A. Pereira that it may have been brought to the islands during the "Spanish domination of the Azores."⁶⁷ There is a high probability of this as the dates do coincide. Corn on the mainland gradually replaced wheat and other cereals in agricultural life and helped to alleviate the chronic food shortages in Portugal. The cultivation of corn on the continent made its impact on the diet, technology, productivity and system of rent.⁶⁸ It was destined to do so in the Azores as well.

While corn has become somewhat of a staple in the Azorean diet, its initial incorporation into the island diet met local resistance. Marcelino Lima, citing Father Antonio Cordeiro's, writes that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, nobody wanted to eat bread made from corn even when it was mixed with wheat. As a result, corn was only eaten roasted for the first seventy years after its introduction and it was not used in breadmaking until the middle of the following century.⁶⁹ Corn while complimenting the human diet, also provided a cheap source for cattle feed: leaves and stalk not fit for human consumption were efficiently fed to livestock. The introduction of corn thus led to an increase in cattle raising on the islands.⁷⁰

The dates between the decline of pastel and the appearance of corn as an export crop overlap, as corn was initially intended as a substitute for pastel which by 1670 had totally lost its commercial value.⁷¹ But corn never became a profitable replacement for pastel. Corn exports for 1676 were 77 *moios*, which had increased to 478 *moios* in 1686, but by 1694 at little over 4 *moios*

⁶⁷ E. Oliveira and B. Pereira, *Tecnologia Tradicional Agrícola Dos Açores*, (Lisbon, 1987).

⁶⁸ Marques, (1983), 292.

⁶⁹ Lima, (1943), 380.

⁷⁰ Marques, (1983), 261.

⁷¹ Oliveira and Pereira, (1987).

were exported.⁷² The appearance of corn in the Azores at this time follows a pattern that was already becoming predominant in Latin America; corn was used as the subsistence base while all other activity was directed towards cash cropping. Corn was an especially important agricultural input on the islands as pastel could not serve the dual purposes of consumption and export.

The scarcity of wheat after the decline of pastel stimulated maize consumption on the islands. Per alquire, it was half the price of wheat and it was suited for cultivation in more marginal environmental areas. The fact that it "fared well on the island's volcanic soils" is one factor that in all likelihood led to an increase in cultivation.⁷³

Seventeenth Century Migration

The adoption of corn as a subsistence crop was also a product of other factors. During the seventeenth century the island population grew considerably and the emphasis on cash cropping at the expense of subsistence cultivation forced the state to look for solutions to alleviate the problems associated with demographic growth.⁷⁴ One solution to the problem of excess population was to encourage migration to Brazil which the Portuguese state did in the seventeenth century.

Rocha Gil attributes migration during this period to volcanic disturbances and population growth, but she argues that these variables must be understood in relation to economic factors. During the early seventeenth century, large portions of land were devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the cash crops of wheat and pastel and much of the surplus production was

⁷² Duncan, (1972), 99-100.

⁷³ Duncan, (1972), 99.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Between 1580 and 1720 the Azorean population almost doubled, 256.

exported. Consequently, there was little land devoted to subsistence cultivation. Natural disasters would only heighten the "misery" of the general Azorean populace as the peoples economic situation was already precarious.

In the Azores by the seventeenth century, with the increase in production of pastel, labor had to a large extent become proletarianized. By this time there was already in the Azores a "large mass of poor salaried workers, that in the cities and important towns, constituted a class of sub-proletarians always available and with an uncertain path" ⁷⁵. By 1640 specialized occupationalists and general salaried works represented a large strata in Azorean society. Because of their uncertain position, the proletariat represented a threat to the status quo. The revolutionary movements in Terceira in 1640 can be interpreted as loyal Terceirans fighting for the interests of the Portuguese crown or they can be seen as an example of class discontent. Shortages of food, the uncertainty of life for the disenfranchised classes and a merchant class that was attempting to increase their profit potential by subjecting the poor to even greater hardship.

Migration to Brazil was an option then not only as a new econiche for a growing population but as an escape hatch that would help alleviate socio-economic ills in the Azores. In the letters between the Azores and Brazil the governors stressed the need for settlers to populate the Brazilian hinterland. The criteria for the new settlers was that the men be young and fit and that the women be of child bearing age and fertile. Dom João IV (1640-1656), the Portuguese King who came to the throne following the partition of the Spanish and Portuguese courts, attempted on a number of occasions to recruit

⁷⁵ Ibid, 92.

Azorean laborers to settle in Brazil. In a letter dated 1647, Dom João asked for 4000 couples to leave immediately for Santa Catarina in Brazil. The crown would support the settlers for the first year providing rations of food according to age: a person over 14 would receive a full ration of 3 quarts of flour a month and one *arrádel* (between 350 and 450 grams) of meat or fish per day; a child between 7 and 14 would be entitled to a half ration; this would be reduced to a third ration for children between 3 and 7; a child under the age of three would receive no ration. The crown would pay for sea and land transport for the colonists and supply land and the implements and seed to farm the land. In addition, each woman between the ages of 12 and 25 would receive 2400 reis, and each child 1000 reis.⁷⁶ These were significant financial inducements in a region where the daily salary was about 40 reis per day. When migration from the central islands accelerated after the decline of pastel, these financial payments grew larger. Migrants from Faial after 1672 had received 8000 reis per couple and later migrants used this as a precedent to ensure that they were equally compensated before they moved to Brazil.⁷⁷

At times special ships, such as the Jesus Maria Joseph, were contracted to take the migrants to Brazil but at other times merchant ships were used and Azorean migrants traveled with other commodities to their new homes.⁷⁸ The merchants were more than willing to offer their ships for by co-operating in this way they could obtain special commercial advantages with Brazil. The Angra merchant, Francisco Ribeiro da Costa, offered his ship

⁷⁶ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. I, 377-383.

⁷⁷ Rocha Gil, (1979).

⁷⁸ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. I, 371-372.

in 1677 to transport *colonos* for the explicit purpose of increasing his commercial network in Brazil.⁷⁹

By the end of the seventeenth century, when pastel production had almost completely disappeared on the islands, Azorean migration to Minas Gerais in Brazil for the gold rush was well underway. While economic pressures induced this migratory flow, the Portuguese state encouraged Azorean migration through land grants and other amenities in much the same way as they had attracted settlers to the Azores in the beginning. In the late seventeenth century, Azoreans began to leave for Minas Gerais in Brazil to participate in the gold rush. The gold mined in Brazil, as many writers have noted, stopped only briefly in Portugal before it was transhipped to England. Gold, as other Portuguese commodities, was used to pay the trade deficit.

The trade deficit was a corollary of monocropping, and the dependence on this type of an economic strategy had disastrous consequences for the Portuguese empire as a whole. From the middle of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese crown ran a continuous trade deficit and attempts at alleviating the balance of payments resulted in the flow of commodities from the colonies to the main centers in northern Europe. Portuguese colonial expansion, and the glorious days of empire building in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had been a short-term solution to the agricultural crisis of the fourteenth century. To continually search out new resources, new commodities, and new means to resolve an old problem would become Portugal's destiny in the modern world. This place as a dependent, underdeveloped region geographically situated on a continent where the

⁷⁹ Rocha Gil, (1979), 31.

development of new technologies would shortly culminate in the "Great Transformation" was ensured with the signing of the Methuen Treaty in 1703, which stipulated that wines would flow freely to England in exchange for manufactures.

The trade deficit enhanced the relationship between commodity production and labor movement. As the value of a commodity declined in the Azores, island labor gained value and was encouraged to migrate to new economic frontiers. Along with other commodities that the Portuguese traded in the fifteenth through seventeenth century, labor itself became a commodity that was to be used to efficiently mine and cultivate new resources. The Portuguese during the first three hundred years of colonial expansion continually sought out new commodities as old ones declined.

THE TRANSITION FROM OLD WORLD DEPENDENCY TO NEW WORLD GROWTH, 1700-1925.

In this chapter I examine the transition that occurred on the Azores after the crisis of the seventeenth century destroyed the market for island commodities. The Portuguese state faced with the loss of the more profitable regions of its Asian empire in the late sixteenth century attempted to compensate for the decline in trade revenues by embarking on a new phase of empire building. The new colonial empire would be Brazil. As the Portuguese state moved from one stage of empire building to another, the Azores became more and more peripheral to Portuguese colonial enterprise. The Azores retained its function as a trade entrepot and a provisioning point for Portuguese ships but, except for minor commodities such as linen, productive activity geared to the market economy came almost to a halt in the eighteenth century.¹ The Azores continued to provide foodstuffs such as dairy products for continental consumption but internal trade within the empire did not have the same impact on the Azorean economy as the production of saleable commodities for the larger market did.

Beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Azorean productive system was again rejuvenated but the agents responsible for the "new cycle of prosperity" were tied to the growth of not the Portuguese

¹ Marques, (1972), 464.

empire but another economic frontier. The crop-specialized plantation economies of the Caribbean islands and the southern United States were to become receptive markets for certain products that the islanders were already producing. Wines and citrus began to be exported from the islands in the seventeenth century and exports increased throughout the eighteenth century.² These commodities, however, only came into their own as definitive forces in the Azorean economy in the nineteenth century. As with the previous cycle of commodity production, the commodities that rose to prominence in the nineteenth century would reach an apex and then decline precipitously. The net result of this renewed experiment in cashcropping would be out-migration, for as production of profitable commodities declined many of the islanders left for North America.

Just as the direction of the commodities changed from a pattern associated with old world growth to provisioning the plantation economies in the Caribbean and the United States, the pattern of labor movement went through a corresponding change. The movement of migrant labor from the Azores to North America in the nineteenth century followed a general pattern that was emerging in southern Europe. Italians, Greeks, Spaniards and Portuguese were all leaving their homelands for the New World. These early migrants had an important impact on future migratory patterns. Azoreans who migrated to the United States in the nineteenth century settled in New Bedford and communities in California. The reminders of these early settlement patterns are found today in ethnic markers that distinguish communities in relation to national origin.

² Duncan, (1972), 137-157.

In 1982, Jerry Williams published a book titled *And Yet They Come* in which he tackles the phenomenon of Azorean migration. Williams, for the most part, confines his analysis to nineteenth and twentieth migration from the islands.³ To reach a more indepth understanding of Azorean migration, however, it is necessary to see migration from the nineteenth century onward in terms of a larger pattern—to examine patterns of outmigration from the islands demands a larger focus with a longer time reference. Otherwise, the topic of nineteenth century migration can become obscured, as it frequently has, by time specific factors that are interesting for the light that they shed on geographical variables that stimulate migratory movement but do little to clarify the process of population movement as part of a global pattern of labor mobilization. To explain the movement of labor from one region of production to another entails an inclusion of variables that supersede the level of the nation-state and address the larger question of why migrants in southern Europe generally left their farms and villages for the United States.

In Chapter 2, I emphasized that the appropriate forum for conceptualizing economic interaction between nation-states is the social formation. The theoretical rationale for this focus and its application to migratory movement is reinforced when one examines nineteenth century migration. During the nineteenth century there were a number of conflicting forces operating. There was the "colonial policy of European countries on one hand and the drive to industrialization and urbanization and to agrarian colonization in South America, on the other."⁴ Whether these forces acted in opposition to each other or whether they served to reinforce each other is a

³ J. Williams, *And Yet they Come: Portuguese Immigration from the Azores to the United States*, (New York, 1982).

⁴ F. Cerase, *From Italy to the United Sates and Back: Returned Migrants, Conservative or Innovative* (Ann Arbor, 1972), 18.

question that is avidly debated in certain academic circles.⁵ The difference in perspective is to a certain extent related to the level of analysis. On a global level the processes of colonial expansion and capitalist incorporation are complimentary. At the level of the nation state, however, one can just as readily find variables that would support the argument that the maintenance of a colonial class structure retarded capitalist development in some regions. The tensions between the old and the new manifested themselves on the islands in a variety of ways. After the seventeenth century colonial monopolies prevented the introduction of new cash crops on the Azores. The islands, however, did not stagnate under the limitations of colonial policy but developed in another direction—a direction which supported economic growth on a more global level. Eric Wolf writes that:

free-lancing entrepreneurs of violence penetrated the monopolistic structure of the Spanish empire and drained its strength to the benefit of the external international economy.⁶

The entrepreneurs who arrived in the Azores did not take advantage of weaknesses in the Portuguese colonial structure through violent means but they nevertheless turned an inherent colonial liability to their own advantage. Representatives of American economic interests began to arrive in the Azores in the late eighteenth century and introduced new opportunities for the islanders to take advantage of. Before turning to a discussion of how these entrepreneurs intervened in the Azorean economy it is important to establish the historical context that permitted these agents to operate freely on the islands.

⁵ This is one of the issues that separates the *dependistas* from the mode of production theorists.

⁶ Wolf, (1982), 156.

Portuguese Empire in the Eighteenth Century

The Portuguese program of colonial expansion can be divided into three phases of empire building. The first began with the voyages of discovery and the building of the Asian empire. The spices brought from Asia by the Portuguese assured Portugal's lead in colonial expansion and gave the small nation a brief moment of global imminence that it would never find again. This first period of colonial expansion also includes in its time frame the settlement of the Atlantic islands. While the commodities produced in the Azores represented only a fraction of the trade goods circulated during this first phase, the pattern of trade from the islands to northern Europe provides a more visible indicator of the real economic relationships that were being established through the growth of a world economy.

With the Asian colonies there is the appearance of empire, of a glorious period in colonial history, which instills pride in the nationalistic Portuguese. The demise of the Portuguese empire in Asia in the late sixteenth century has been attributed to various factors: the employment of a more efficient maritime technology on the part of the Dutch; the consolidation of bullion in Dutch banks drawn from the Spanish and Portuguese empires and reinvested in long-distance trade; or the lack of a long-term economic outlook on the part of the Portuguese state which saw profits from the Asian empire squandered on the construction of religious and political monuments in the territories and at home. Following the decline of the Asian Empire, Portuguese colonial policy concentrated on

Brazil and when Brazil attained its independence in 1825, the Portuguese shifted their focus to their African colonies of Angola and Mozambique.⁷

The subsequent stages of empire building created a mystique about Portuguese colonialism that persists to this day. The Portuguese program of mercantilism, where the nation played the role of the exporter of commodities from colonial hinterland to the developed European metropolises, was an antiquated strategy that had worked for a brief period during the prosperous days of Asian empire building but worked against the nation when the northern European countries made the transition from merchant to industrial capital. Portugal in Europe became defined by economic and political backwardness—a status it retained until the last vestiges of empire were given up following the 1974 revolution.

After the signing of the Methuen Treaty of 1703, a formalized arrangement through which finished cloth from England would be exchanged for wine from Portugal, the inequitable trade dialog between Portugal and Great Britain which had developed in the sixteenth century intensified. It was not only wine from Portugal that flowed to England but the majority of gold mined in Brazil made its way there as well. The eighteenth century thus saw the development of an incredibly uneven trade imbalance between Portugal and England.⁸ How this trade imbalance affected future developments on the continent has again been subjected to a variety of interpretations and it would be redundant to review these in their entirety at this point. The English economic system in the latter half of the eighteenth

⁷ See Clarence-Smith, (1985), 1-21.

⁸ A. Castro in, *A Dominação Inglesa em Portugal* (Porto, 1974), 23, provides the figures for this deficit.

century went through some remarkable changes that were either internally generated or occurred as a consequence of external infusions of resources.⁹

With the onset of the industrial revolution, the relationship between regions where some regions would produce raw materials for industrial manufacture and others would turn these raw materials into finished commodities was formally marked. But the origins of the above productive disparity predated the industrial revolution. As was saw in the previous chapter, raw materials such as pastel were already flowing from Portuguese territory to Great Britain in exchange for manufactured cloth in the seventeenth century. In the late seventeenth century Portugal would engage in its own experiment in the manufacture of cloth. This experiment was, however, short-lived; in part because of the "fabulous rise of the English textile industry,"¹⁰ and because of the official relationship (the Metheun Treaty) that saturated the Portuguese market with cloth from England.

The relationship between Great Britain and Portugal in the eighteenth century can be defined in the following way: gold flowed from Brazil through Portugal almost directly to England; the Metheun Treaty guaranteed a market for English manufactures as well as a market for Portuguese wine; and the above two factors contributed to an enormous trade deficit between Portugal and England. The question as to why Portugal did not industrialize in the eighteenth century, despite a concerted effort by the Marquis do Pombal to steer Portugal in this direction from 1769 to 1777, needs to be phrased in relation to the inequitable trade dialog that existed between Portugal and England.

⁹ The different interpretations are presented by Wolf, (1982), 268-278 and A. G. Frank, *World Accumulation* (New York, 1978), 116-120.

¹⁰ Marques, (1976), 387.

The industrial revolution forced prices lower and lower and ruined most of Portuguese industrial production, with British manufactures competing even in the Portuguese home markets.¹¹

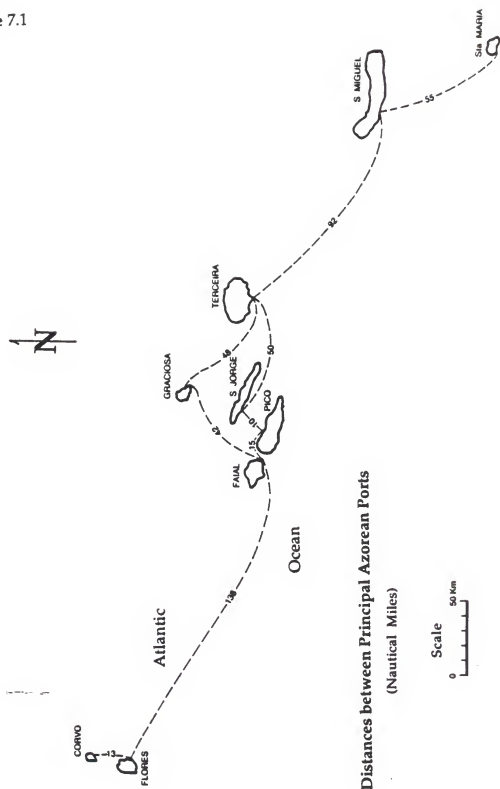
A more important aspect of this dependent relationship for the purpose of this study is the role that migrant labor would play to enhance industrial growth in the more developed regions. While the relationship between labor, technology and capital did not develop to its fullest extent in Portugal, some Portuguese labor was nevertheless employed within the industrial regions. From the first years of colonial expansion until the mid-nineteenth century the pattern of out-migration from Portugal followed a consistent pattern; labor moved to where it was needed within the empire at large. Up until 1838, "Portuguese immigration was practically synonymous with immigration to Brazil."¹² This pattern began to change in the late nineteenth century when larger numbers of Portuguese migrants began to move to North America. Despite this redirection of the migrant labor force, sizeable numbers of Portuguese still went to Brazil.¹³ Portuguese migration in general was caught in the same bind that afflicted the nation; a percentage of the labor force participated in activities related to colonial enterprise while a growing number started to move to the areas where capitalist growth was proceeding at a rapid rate.

¹¹ Marques, (1976), 384.

¹² Serrão, (1982), 41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 43.

Figure 7.1



The Azorean Archipelago

Source: Adapted from Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores, (1980-81).

The Azores in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the nineteenth century the Azores, while still in political terms colonial territory, moved away from programs associated with empire building and began to develop in relation to more global processes. The Azores belonged to what Marques refers to as the "secondary elements of the empire" and along with minor colonial territories such as Madeira and Cape Verde in the Atlantic, and Goa, Macao and Timor in Asia did not figure significantly in the larger plans of colonial enterprise.¹⁴ The market for cloth and other finished commodities on the islands had been secured in the seventeenth century and the link between the manufacturing centers and the island economy was maintained though a very lopsided form of exchange. Island productive activity for export almost ground to a halt in the eighteenth century and the trade balance between the islands, the continent and the manufacturing centers increasingly began to hinge on the receipt of migrant remittances. The seventeenth century Azorean migrant to Brazil thus subsidized to a large extent the eighteenth century island economy.

After the crisis of the seventeenth century, colonial monopolies began to develop and the more lucrative commodities were produced in the major territorial regions of the Empire. The production of crops such as tobacco was confined to Brazil and their cultivation without state approval was prohibited in other colonial areas. For example, in 1825, Vicente José Ferreira Cardozo da Costa, an Azorean judge, large landowner and entrepreneur, began a series of letters to the foreign finance minister explaining that the Azores would be an ideal locale for the cultivation of tobacco.¹⁵ While the methods that Costa used to try and interest the royal court in the production of tobacco on the

¹⁴ Marques, (1976), 462.

¹⁵ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol II, 72.

Azores were similar to those used by Anes do Canto, in 1538, to stimulate the production of pastel, the times had changed and commodities from the islands were no longer considered a vital component of Portuguese enterprise-especially when the production of those commodities directly competed with other commodities being produced in the empire.

The Portuguese state did attempt to reduce the reliance on commodity exchange in the eighteenth century. The Marquis of Pombal vigorously tried to revive the Portuguese economy in a number of ways in an attempt to imitate industrial advances in Great Britain. In 1767, under the directorship of the Pombal, there was an attempt to revive the cultivation of pastel in the Azores. After the elimination of the system of the captaincies in 1766, D. Antão de Alemada tried to resurrect pastel and return it to a more glorious time.¹⁶ The Portuguese also tried to encourage production of pastel in the African colonies as urzela and pastel were introduced in Angola in the mid-eighteenth century.¹⁷ Portuguese efforts to reintroduce pastel as a boom crop were for the most part a unsuccessful. These attempts to revive a colonial structure by producing crops that had fared well in the past was not in line with the economic realities of the day; for the resources necessary to sustain and promote industrial growth largely moved to England. The strategy that the Portuguese had initiated to attempt to resolve a short-term crisis in the fifteenth century thus impeded long-term development.

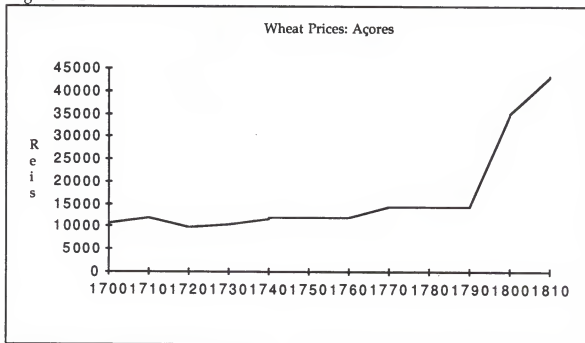
Crops, with the exception of pastel, that had been introduced on the islands shortly after settlement were still being grown in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Wheat continued to be exported from the Azores in the eighteenth century but it never regained its former importance as a cash

¹⁶ Valdemar Mota, *O Pastel Na Cultura e no Comércio dos Açores*, (Angra do Heroísmo, 1976).

¹⁷ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol II, 430.

crop on the islands. As Figure 7. 2 indicates the price of wheat on the Azores was fairly stable throughout the eighteenth century. In 1800, the price of wheat again more than doubled and this rapid increase coincided with a new boom period in the Azorean economy. After 1790, exports of citrus fruits and wines increased and how this affected the price of wheat is uncertain, but it does appear that a decline in wheat production may have led to shortages and an increase in price.

Figure 7. 2



Wheat Prices: Eighteenth Century

Source: *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol 1, Pg. 531-534.

The production of wheat can only be understood in relation to other crops, for there are limitations on the area for cultivation on the islands. In terms of geographical space, island ecosystems are extremely environmentally circumscribed, and the advent of one crop would expectedly lead to the decline of another. Conversely, when the production of a cash crop increased on one of the dominant islands, imports of basic foodstuffs would also

increase. For example, São Miguel's orange exports more than doubled between 1821 and 1825. During this same period imports of wheat from Santa Maria to São Miguel rose from 26,400 kilos in 1821; 129,600 kilos in 1822; 66,800 kilos in 1823; 103,600 kilos in 1824; and then declined in 1825 to 12,000 kilos.¹⁸ Since during this same period São Miguel continued to export wheat at a constant level, one can deduce that an increase in the cultivation of citrus led to a decrease in the amount of wheat available for subsistence consumption.

Variables such as age, quality, season and internal and external demand also affected the price of wheat.¹⁹ Internal trade contributed to price differences between the islands and as a result the price of wheat varied from island to island. The price that Marcelino Lima lists for Faial in 1820 of 400 reis per alqueire is the same as for São Miguel. But in 1871 when the price of wheat on São Miguel was 640 reis per alqueire, the price for this same amount on Faial was only 550 reis.²⁰

The increase in production of corn in the early nineteenth century occurred during a period when there was considerable increase in the price of wheat and consequently there may have been a greater reliance on corn as a subsistence crop as wheat surpluses were exported. Table 7. 1 shows the relationship between a decline in wheat production and an appropriate increase in maize production on the island of Faial.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Duncan, (1972), 96.

²⁰ Lima, (1943).

Table 7. 1
Wheat and Maize on Faial*

Year	Wheat	Maize
1820	1,714,000	3,402,000
1866	1,215,214	4,325,000
1884	1,508,000	4,638,000
1897	1,180,400	4,873,000

Source: Lima, (1943), 380

*The numbers are in liters and not in alqueires.

Azorean wheat for export disappeared from the world market with an increase in production in Argentina, Australia, Canada, the United States and Russia in the late nineteenth century.²¹ These countries began to export massive amounts of wheat and smaller producers such as the Azores could not produce wheat on a scale large enough to reduce prices to compete effectively with the larger producers. Grain syndicates had emerged in the nineteenth century to establish control of this commodity for which there was a constant demand yet limited supply. Wheat barons effectively dominated the market, setting prices and controlling the routes along which the commodity flowed.²² Portugal, along with many other countries, began to import huge amounts of wheat during this period which increased the national trade deficit."

The official demise of the captaincy system in 1766 on the Azores removed the last vestiges of the juro-legal structure of feudalism on the islands. Although feudal relations, in the classical sense, only existed in name on the islands, the captaincy system and the privileges of rank were based on an identification with the old order. Thus, the land tenure system

²¹ Duncan, (1972), 46.

²² D. Morgan, *The Merchants of Grain*, (New York, 1979); H. Friedman, *World Market, State, and Family Farm* in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 20, 1978.

that had been installed on the islands at the time of settlement did not go through any qualitative changes with the removal of the feudal structure. The land tenure system on the islands during the first century, as I described it in Chapter 4, was based on a number of different types of social relationships. These relationships persisted in the eighteenth century and for the most part can be found on the islands today, albeit in sometimes disguised forms.

In the eighteenth century the land tenure system on the Azores can best be described as a combination of minifundia/latifundia. Large landowners retained their land but migrants from Brazil either directly, through land purchases, or indirectly through remittances began to purchase land on the islands. Land became available for migrant purchases in a number of ways. The Marquis do Pombal encouraged the cultivation of fallow land, though leases to farmers, that had previously been used by the poor and the landless for subsistence cultivation.²³ There is also evidence that larger landholders would sell off portions of their land so their sons did not have to serve in the military.²⁴ These were some of the changes that altered land relationships, but these changes were less revolutionary than adjustments to the existing land tenure system.

Clarence-Smith writes that "the savings of poor immigrants tended to shore up inefficient small farming in the North of Portugal and the Atlantic islands."²⁵ Migrant remittances may have perpetuated patterns related to subsistence production but they served another purpose in an ailing economy. The islands have for the most part always imported more than

²³ Marques, (1972), 465.

²⁴ J. Castro, *Family History* (Pico, 1985)

²⁵ Clarence-Smith, (1985), 6.

they exported and remittances provided the missing financial ingredient when the islands were undergoing crisis. Another type of remittance that Clarence-Smith argues is frequently overlooked is the impact those migrants who had amassed significant amounts of capital had on the Portuguese economy.²⁶ Perhaps the most famous Azorean merchant for this period was Nicolau Maria Raposa who had settled in Brazil and returned to the Azores. Raposa maintained and cultivated commercial connections both on the islands and Brazil and carried on a profitable trade in wines, liquor and whale oil.²⁷ Raposa's commerce within the empire was at times disrupted by trade monopolies. For example, in 1776, the *Companhia das Vinhas do Alto Douro*, was granted a monopoly for all the wines and liquors that were exported to Rio de Janeiro. The ruling was overturned the following year but the existence of monopolies was a constant hindrance for merchants.²⁸

Trade with regions outside of the empire was not constrained by monopolies and it is little wonder that foreign merchants were able to establish themselves as easily on the islands as they did. Duncan writes that "the wines of Pico and Madeira could not penetrate Spanish colonial markets, but they were welcomed in the English colonies."²⁹ On the Azores foreign merchants who directed this trade to the English colonies frequently combined consular activities with commercial enterprise. On Ponta Delgada the leading merchants were William Read and Thomas Hickling who primarily engaged in the orange trade. How closely these merchants were

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ C. Cordeiro, *Relações Comerciais de Nicolau Maria Raposa com o Brasil (1775-1784)*, (Angra, 1985).

²⁸ Ibid., 275-276.

²⁹ Duncan, (1972), 156.

aligned with the export economy is demonstrated by the fact that once the commerce in oranges declined they left the islands.³⁰

While the above two merchants engaged in significant trade, it was John Dabney, the U. S consul on Faial, and his family, who would provide the most extensive links to the American economy. Dabney directed much of the trade from Faial but his influence was felt through-out the island system.³¹ The Dabneys came to be regarded as special friends of the Faialense and the family as a whole provided an essential link at a crucial moment with the American economy. It was not only the Dabney men who engaged in island commerce but their wives and daughters introduced craft production on Pico and Faial. Lace and hats that were produced on the islands were sold by the Dabney women throughout New England.³²

While the Dabney family stimulated the economy they also provided humanitarian assistance for the islanders during periods of crisis. Charles Dabney in 1859 when the inhabitants of Faial were faced with starvation used his connections in the United States to import 25,000 alqueires of corn which were redistributed to the islanders. The previous year, Dabney had fed from his own pocket 800 destitute islanders on Pico and Faial.³³ So while the commerce of the Dabneys activated the crisis they also used their resources to help bring the islanders through a period of crisis.

The Twin Economies of Faial and Pico

The economic dialog between the Azores and the American plantations is best illustrated through an examination of the economies of the

³⁰ F. Dias, "O Porto de Ponta Delgada e o Comércio Micaelense Entre 1821 e 1825," *Arquipélago*, (Ponta Delgada, 1986), Vol. VIII, 11.

³¹ Lima, (1943), 598.

³² Goldman, (1989).

³³ Lima, (1943), 601.

twin islands of Faial and Pico. It was principally at the port of Horta that the whalers stopped to provision and unload their whale products. It was the wine of Pico, which was transhipped through Horta, that was exported in increasing volume from the Azores in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. And it was in Horta that the American merchant, John Dabney, would establish his residence and in his dual role as American consul and entrepreneur would direct trade between the Azores and the Americas. It was the combination of all the above variables that would initiate the islands through another boom period; and it was the dependency on this trade which would, when it declined, promote another intense period of outmigration from the islands.

Geographically, the two islands of Faial and Pico are linked by their proximity to each other and this close physical association has defined their economic interchange. Pico does not have an accessible natural harbor and this environmental handicap has made Pico dependent on Horta's harbor for receiving and shipping its goods. The two islands are separated by a six kilometer channel and inhabitants from Faial and Pico have through the centuries maintained continuous contact. The geographical dependency has thus fostered an economic dependency as the residents of Faial have historically taken advantage of nature to further their economic interests. Between the two islands, Pico is thus the satellite and Faial the metropolis.

Foreign merchants were already very influential in Faial commerce in the seventeenth century and as the commodities from Pico and Faial found a larger market their influence increased. After 1640 there were, according to Duncan, in the neighborhood of twenty English resident merchants, one of whom, James Neale, "had close connections with New England, and sailed

across the Atlantic several times."³⁴ This early New England connection was to play a very important role in defining not only economic growth on Pico and Faial but future migratory patterns as well.

In the nineteenth century three main commodities would define Faial and Pico's interaction with the external market. The first significant export from Faial and Pico was wine. Citrus fruits became an important export in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Joining the above two products was another commodity which the Azoreans did not directly produce but would figure prominently in future migratory patterns from the islands. The latter product was derived from the whales which beginning in the eighteenth century were hunted in Azorean waters. As with many of the elements on the Azores--human, social or natural--the commodities are the products of migration.

Pico Wine

The islands of Faial and Pico can be regarded as late bloomers in Azorean economic history. While there was continual trade between the two islands and the continent, the islands did not come into their own as large exporters until the middle of the seventeenth century when Pico wine began to be transshipped from Horta harbor in great volume to the New World. "The wines from the Azores sold well in the Antilles, North America, Hamburg and St. Petersburg."³⁵ The wine was grown, fermented, barreled on Pico and then brought by small boat across the channel to be exported from Faial. The inhabitants of Faial busied themselves producing grains and other subsistence foodstuffs to exchange for these wines. Thus, the production of wine on Pico stimulated commerce on both of the islands.

³⁴ Duncan, (1972), 156.

³⁵ Lima, (1943), 401.

The history of Horta in the seventeenth century is the story of the evolution of a quiet settlement, with a small trade, into a busy, booming mid-Atlantic seaport at the center of a complex network of shipping routes.³⁶

Azorean wine went through a slow maturation phase before it became popular on the world market. Grape vines were reputedly brought to Faial and Pico by the first settlers. The topic of how the verdelho vine that would make Pico famous arrived on the island, however, is disputed by Azorean writers. José Garcia argues that the verdelho grape that was grown on Pico came directly from Sicily and he provides the following four reasons to support his case.³⁷

1) To refute the argument that Pico vine was diffused from Madeira, Garcia maintains that the principal wine of Madeira has never been the "verdelho" that is produced from the Pico grape. Since the vintages of wine are different it is doubtful that they came from the same grape.

2) The continental grape was introduced to Pico but it did not fare as well on the island's volcanic soil as it did on Madeira.

3) It was after the failure of the continental vine that the Sicilian vine was brought to Pico. Sicily and Pico are similar in terrain and a vine that grew well on Sicily would thrive on Pico as well.

4) There are remarkable similarities between *Lágrima Christi*, the wine from the Sicilian stock, and the Pico verdelho.

The introduction of the Sicilian grape to the Azores followed a general fifteenth century where crops from the Mediterranean were transferred to the Atlantic islands. As another Mediterranean transplant, sugar cane, had done for the Madeiran economy in the fifteenth century, the Sicilian grape would

³⁶ Duncan, (1972), 139.

³⁷ J. Garcia, "Uma Palestra Sobre O Vinho Verdelho do Pico," *Despertar*, (1987), Year XII, No. 84, 45.

create a sudden burst of prosperity on Pico and Faial in the eighteenth century.

The subject of the quality of Pico wine is more than an academic one for nineteenth century consumers debated the quality of wines as seriously as connoisseurs do today. Gaspar Frutuoso in the sixteenth century passed his own judgement on Pico wine. He wrote that the wine of Pico

eliminates bad humor, comforts the stomach, gladdens the heart, enlivens the soul, prevents the loss of judgement...it is also very smooth to the taste and very comfortable to the smell.³⁸

The wine that Frutuoso tasted went through some radical changes in the eighteenth century before it arrived in the American colonies. The eighteenth century vintages contained brandy and were heated in accordance with methods that had been developed by the British in Oporto.³⁹ These additions to Pico wine allowed it to compete successfully with similar wines produced on Madeira and Oporto.

The economy of Pico in the seventeenth century revolved around the growing of the grape and the production of the wines. In 1716, the population of Pico was about 8,000 which is relatively small if one considers that today the population is over 15,000 and that the islanders complain that the island *falta gente* (lack people). Although wine had been produced on Pico since the time of colonization, it was not until after 1650 that large exports of wine from the island began. The amount of wine exported towards the seventeenth century varies according to the source one uses. Most Azorean facts are subjected to serious debate by local historians and the subject of Pico

³⁸ Cited in E. Avila "Vinho Verde Do Pico," *Despertar*, (1987), Year XII, No. 84, 43.

³⁹ Duncan, (1972), 148-149.

wine is no exception. Thus, the amounts for 1649 range from 8,000 to 30,000 barrels.⁴⁰ Caring for the grapevines, making the wine and transporting it to Faial necessitated a considerable amount of labor.

Much of the trade in wine, as with other island commodities, was mediated by foreign merchants. Scott Idle de Sobradello, an English merchant who lived in Horta directed much of the wine trade from Faial to the Antilles. A London house commissioned 5000 casks of wine annually for export to the West Indies and Sobradello managed this contract. Vessels came from the grand banks with cargos of wood and salted cod and took on cargos of wine for their return to North America. While some of the wine went to Europe, the majority was shipped to English colonies in the New World. The wines were part of a triangular Atlantic trade and were extensively shipped to Newfoundland, New England and the West Indies.⁴¹

The Pico wine trade came to an end when a blight struck the vine in 1853. The Pico wine industry never recovered from this setback and when the grapes vines were destroyed through blight along with another cash crop--oranges--the economies of the two islands were devastated.

Citrus

Oranges are another commodity that were introduced when the islands were first settled but did not become a marketable export until a few centuries later. As with the grape vine, the history of how the orange arrived in the

⁴⁰ See Avila (1987), 43 and Lima (1943), 401.

⁴¹ Triangular in this sense, Duncan argues, is an oversimplification that does not take into account the complexities and haphazardness of travel in the mid-Atlantic in the seventeenth century. The word triangular gives the impression that shipping lines were clearly defined. A better way to phrase trans-Atlantic trade during this period is in terms of trunk lines where trade routes "ran from North America to England...from Newfoundland to Iberia...and from England to the West Indies...the great port of Horta was a nodal point on all three of these routes." Duncan, (1972), 154.

Azores is uncertain. The history of citrus growing in Portugal itself is not very clear. There is a diffusionist element. Was the orange tree brought back from the orient by the early explorers? Or did the orange have a pre-expansionist life in Portugal? An article in *O Jorgense*, a political and literary newspaper published on the island of São Jorge in the latter half of the nineteenth century, explores this problem, and the unnamed author reaches the following conclusion. The orange, particularly the sweet orange, was grown in Portugal prior to the voyage of Vasco da Gama. Since Vasco da Gama would have been the most likely carrier of this fruit to European shores, his references to the product can be used as a measure to its pre-expansionistic status. According to the logs of this voyage, when de Gama's ships arrived a little to the south of what is now referred to as Mozambique, they found very good fruit which they found to be much better than that grown in Portugal.⁴²

The planting of oranges in the Azores probably dates back then to the colonization of the islands. In 1494, Hieronymous Monetarius, who personally knew Josse de Hurtere the original captain for Faial and Pico, in Lisbon, bestowed the following accolade on Azorean fruit, "*Tem também, laranjas, limões* (they have good oranges and lemons).⁴³ There is little doubt that ships that stopped in the Azores to provision would have taken on oranges from the islands. The threat of scurvy was already apparent to marine travelers and the Azores would have been a convenient place to load on this source of vitamin C in mid-voyage.

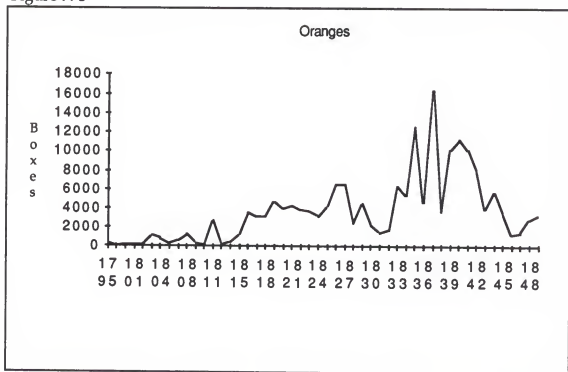
Oranges though, as with the other Azorean commodities, would have to wait their historical turn before they became a prominent export. While

⁴² *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. III, 354-355.

⁴³ Lima, (1943), 405.

oranges were first exported from Faial in the middle of the eighteenth century, larger exports did not begin until the end of the century. When the orange did enter Azorean commerce, its export direction indicated the separate economic spheres that were emerging within the Azores. From São Miguel, the oranges went primarily to England. The central islands, however, exported much of their citrus to America. The merchant responsible for the export of Faial's oranges was John Bass Dabney who had settled on the island in 1804 to take advantage of commercial opportunities. In 1806, Dabney was installed as the American consul for the Azores.⁴⁴ Shortly thereafter, exports from Faial increased in volume.

Figure 7. 3



Orange Exports from Faial
Source: Silveira, (1871), 161.

⁴⁴ F. Rogers, *Welcome to the Cable Trail*, (Horta, 1983).

The orange groves took up a significant amount of area, but the aspect of the industry that was detrimental to the ecology was not related to production but to the packaging of the oranges for transport. Timber had been imported from Newfoundland since the sixteenth century and initially this wood was used to package the oranges for export. As exports increased more wood was needed and by 1832 there was a shortage of packaging material. Exporters resolved this problem by cutting down every tree that they could buy on the islands.⁴⁵ A series of blights, beginning in 1843, destroyed the orange industry on the islands. The deforestation of large areas of land may have made the fruit trees and vineyards, which suffered similar blights, more vulnerable to disease. The actual culprit was apparently brought to the Azores from Florida when a member of the Dabney family grew homesick and thought that bringing over a familiar tree would help reduce his longing for America. The orange industry never recovered from this setback.

The islands suffered economically from the loss of this cash crop, but its short florescence also contributed to near ecological collapse. The massive deforestation that occurred as a result of the orange industry was the second time that the trees of the island had been cut down to market a cash crop.

After most of the useable timber was removed from the islands to make fruit boxes, fastgrowing trees were introduced from various parts of the world to try to satisfy the demand for wood. Among the trees introduced for this purpose were the Japanese cedar, *Cryptomeria japonica*; Eucalyptus from Australia; the acasia tree, *Acasia melanoxylon*; and several varieties of pine, including *Pinus maritima*. *Pittsoporum* was introduced from Australia in the 1840s to serve as a windbreak for oranges, thereby enabling citrus orchards to expand into

⁴⁵ Walker, (1886).

less favorable parts of the island. Only after the pittsoporum spread did the orchardists realize that it also exhausted the soil.⁴⁶

The demise of the orange and wine industry on Pico and Faial was partially responsible for the increase in migration in the nineteenth century. There were, however, other factors that are equally important in understanding population movement from the islands during this period. One factor was the vehicle that allowed Azoreans to become pioneers of sorts in the race to become "new laborers" in the growing American economy. This vehicle was the whaling ships that had stopped in the Azores since the last half of the eighteenth century to provision, unload cargo and to take on crew.

Whaling and the Ethnic Factor

The vestiges of the grand days of whaling present themselves to the traveler as he or she takes in the cultural heritage of the Azores. Perhaps, it is because there is little to purchase in the Azores in the way of tourist souvenirs, or perhaps, it is the attraction of danger, to pick up something illicit or illegal on one's journey, that scrimshaw, the practise of engraving on whale tooth and bone, remains such an irresistible commodity to travelers. Yachts' crews from all parts of the world and excursion tourists from continental Europe scavenge the islands of Faial and Pico in search of an elusive piece that may have been missed by a previous generation of scavengers. It is illegal to import or even bring scrimshaw into the United States and most of Western Europe, but the product nevertheless turns formerly law-abiding citizens into conspiring criminals in a short period of

⁴⁶ Williams, (1982), 62.

time. Consequently, the scrimshaw trade flourishes on Pico and Faial. Today, relatively few of the island inhabitants actually engage in this commerce, but its continued prevalence converges with another prominent pattern in Azorean history.

The history of whaling in the Azores and out-migration to North America have run a strikingly parallel course. Today, the sale of scrimshaw is almost the only pursuit that remains from a once definitive industry. Conversely, migration which had preceded over the last two hundred years in a steady fashion, interrupted only by the world depression in the twenties and thirties and then revived in conjunction with economic growth in post World War II North America, has slowed to a trickle.

For about one hundred years beginning in 1765 when New England based companies first hunted whales in the Azores,⁴⁷ the whalers provided a route of escape for Azorean youth who either sought adventure, wanted to avoid military conscription or sought to further themselves economically.⁴⁸ The young men who enlisted on the whalers may have had a longing to see the world but they must surely have been aware of conditions aboard the notoriously exploitive whalers. The whalers had already gained a certain infamy in New England where a rigid social hierarchy had emerged between those who simply toiled on the long arduous journeys and those who directed and profited from these excursions. Vermette writes that at first there was almost an egalitarian respect between all those, regardless of position, who participated in the whaling industry in New England.⁴⁹ As new recruits from different backgrounds and nationalities began to work on

⁴⁷ Clarke, *Open Boat Whaling in the Azores*, (Cambridge, 1953).

⁴⁸ Williams (1982).

⁴⁹ Vermette, (1984).

the whalers, "the social order of those involved changed."⁵⁰ An increasing number of these recruits were Azoreans who as Herbert Melville wrote were obliged to provide the "muscle" while the "native American liberally provides the brains."⁵¹ Azoreans furnished much needed labor to an industry that continually needed to replenish this resource.

enchanted by the romance of sail and harpoon, many an unsuspecting lad set to sea on a whaler, only to awaken quickly and dreadfully to the bitterness of a whaler's life at sea. He soon looked for means of escape. The first opportunity usually came at the Western Islands, for the wind system in the North Atlantic and the Gulf Stream made the Azores the accepted port of call for fresh provisions. Many a disillusioned lad deserted, ill and broken hearted, and openly asked for refuge from the American counsel on the island of Fayal. These desertions resulted in the signing on of many Azoreans to fill the compliment of the crews.⁵²

To prevent further desertions, the captains denied shore leave to their crews even though voyages of one and two years were not uncommon. Many Azoreans learned the difficult craft of scrimshaw engraving from other confined conscripts on these long journeys that began in the Azores and took them as far as the South Pacific and the Bering Strait.⁵³

Although, the whalers which stopped in the Azores were primarily from the New World, the industry itself was well established in Europe in the Middle Ages. Basque fishermen had been following the whales in the north Atlantic for hundreds of years and there are hypothetical arguments for a Basque presence in Newfoundland and Greenland in the late fourteenth

⁵⁰ Vermette, (1984), 37

⁵¹ H. Melville (1980), 127.

⁵² Vermette, (1984), 40.

⁵³ J. Castro, (1985)

century.⁵⁴ The products from this industry provided oil for lamps and supplemented meat shortages in southern Europe. There is scant evidence that whale meat ever entered the Azorean diet but whale oil became an important light source for the islanders. Older Azoreans still recall how to insert a piece of cloth into the lamp which would then absorb the oil and provide light though the long Azorean winter evenings. Today, during the frequent power shortages on the islands, candles and battery powered lanterns are used and the clay lamps have been reduced to just another tourist artifact.

Whaling however had a somewhat more lasting effect on Pico than on the other islands. Despite not having a safe navigatable harbor, the sea has been an integral part of Pico's socio-economic history. Fishing or any activity associated with the sea is not highly regarded in the Azores and those engaged in this industry are usually considered of low socio-economic status.⁵⁵

Onésimo Almeida an Azorean writer explains that

Indeed, only three percent of the Azorean population earns a living off the sea. For the others, who are largely agrarian, the sea plays at least consciously, little or no part in their workaday lives. The sea is there for them only as part of the natural setting. For them, the world ends there at land's edge.⁵⁶

The residents of Pico have never experienced the luxury of this insularity. The hazards of the canal between Pico and Faial confront them on a daily basis for this six kilometer chasm is their lifeline to the external world. Commercial goods and necessary subsistence items need to be transported from Horta and if one wanted to leave the Azores one would first need to go to Faial before boarding a larger more secure ship. An attractive theory would

⁵⁴ Jones, (1987)

⁵⁵ O. Almeida, *The Sea Within*, (Providence, 1983).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

be that the remoteness and isolation of Pico conditioned the residents to be impervious to the dangers of the sea and through this exposure finding an affinity for a way of life that other Azoreans disdained. But one needs to examine the economic realities that may have been a contributing factor in designing this course.

While those who controlled the whaling industry in New England consciously promoted their aristocratic aspirations and defined their social position vis-à-vis those who groveled beneath them, the experience of working on a whaler and the opportunity it afforded was perceived quite differently by Azorean crewmen. To the Azoreans who were willing to challenge *os monstros*, social elevation was defined in terms of improving ones position on the islands not in relation to the lives of the foreign merchants and captains who seemed to find a certain security and reaffirmation of their status in belittling others. The denial of social recognition away from the islands only fortified the Azorean resolve to eventually return home, buy land, and retire peacefully.

The wine industry which was the mainstay of the Pico economy was destroyed by a blight in the middle of the nineteenth century. With the disappearance of this highly lucrative activity, an alternative industry needed to be developed. John Dabney, the American council on Faial, had attempted to introduce shore whaling in 1832 and had met with little success. In the 1850s, Dabney now in partnership with Ben Saude a Jewish merchant who had recently come to the Azores from Morocco, succeeded in establishing shorewhaling on Faial.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Clarke, (1953).

Although, the first small whale boats were launched from Faial beaches, the men of Pico soon came to provide the majority of the labor power for shore whaling. Both Faial and Graciosa had shore stations but these were crewed by men from Pico.⁵⁸ The founder of the Pico whale industry was Anselmo Silveira da Silva who brought shore whaling to Pico in 1876. Captain Anselmo who also went by the anglicized name of Samuel Silva rose from an impoverished background to a place of prominence in Pico history. Anselmo despite the rigid hierarchy that existed in the whaling industry managed to captain a ship of his own.⁵⁹ Whaling represented a means to escape the poverty on Faial and this economic activity also helped to fill a gap that had been created by the destruction of the wine industry.

After the initial introduction of shore whaling on the islands the industry grew steadily and subsidized the local economy until after the second world war.

Table 7. 2
Total Whale Catches For the Azores, 1896-1949

Santa Maria	404	Faial	1275
São Miguel	2027	Pico	5797
Terceira	339	Flores	746
São Jorge	992	Corvo	1
Graciosa	308		

Total Whales= 11,889

Source: Clarke, (1954).

As Table 7. 2 indicates the whale catches on Pico represent almost 50% of the total for all the islands. Other industries on Pico grew up around this primary

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ D. Melo, *Vida Vivida em Terras de Baleiros* (Angra do Heroísmo, 1983), 37.

industry. Robert Clarke, shortly after the second world war, noted that "the crafts of the boat builder, blacksmith and cooper, are among the major occupations of the Pico islanders today."⁶⁰ The residents of Pico, while dependent on the vagaries of the world economy, developed a degree of self-sufficiency in producing the prerequisite technological implements for shore whaling. Harpoons, boats, lances and boat fixings were all produced on the island.

Whaling on Pico allowed the islanders to experience moments of prosperity and extend their economic connections within the island system. In the decade before the first world war profits were large enough to outfit the shore boats with motors. Shipping was disrupted during the war years and the whale catch on the islands was reduced significantly during this period. Whale catches began to improve in 1917 when 62 whales were beached in Pico and in 1918 when 117 whales were caught.⁶¹

While the industry of whaling was largely controlled from the outside and profits accrued to those who were involved in the secondary aspects of the industry, whaling provided an avenue of escape for an otherwise desolate existence. During the late nineteenth century, the local economy was in disarray because of the blights that had destroyed the once profitable industries of citrus and wine. The economic crisis the islanders were experiencing had another dimension that also in its way reinforced the individual tendency to outmigrate. Since the seventeenth century Azoreans had been recruited for military service in the colonies. In the eighteenth century many Azorean draftees were sent to Angola "where they died a

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

miserable death."⁶² The ordeal of doing duty in the King's army thus took on extra significance once those who were recruited did not return home. A more attractive option than service in the army in colonial frontiers was to join the whaling ships to avoid mandatory conscription.

Josephina Castro in her diary recounts how her grandfather Domingos worked on the whaling ships, always dreaming about eventually returning to the Azores. His philosophy was "work, save and go back to the Azores." In California, Domingos with an Azorean partner from Graciosa purchased a cattle ranch that grew into a profitable enterprise. The partners married two sisters from the Azores and began their families in the United States.

Domingo's dream was realized after 25 years in California when he returned to the islands and after a visit to São Jorge bought a house and orchard on the island.⁶³ Domingo's experience was probably a common one for Azorean migrants to California in the nineteenth century. It is estimated that of the 2,400 dairies in the San Joaquin Valley in the late nineteenth century, 55 to 60 percent of these were owned by Portuguese immigrants.⁶⁴

Whaling distributed Azoreans in communities on both sides of the American continent. On the east coast, Azoreans settled in New Bedford with the goal of establishing independent farms but instead became entrapped in the factory system. Many migrants followed fellow Azoreans such as Domingo to California where they bought small farms and even worked for a small whaling concern, The Monterey Whaling Company on the California coast.⁶⁵ Azoreans also settled in Hawaii and the Bahamas. In the United States, the Azorean immigrants were industrious but they rarely established

⁶² Marques (1972), 464.

⁶³ Castro, 1985.

⁶⁴ E. Dias, *Açorianos na Califórnia* (Angra do Heroísmo, 1982), 21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

extensive contacts with other ethnic groups.⁶⁶ These early ethnic enclaves would serve as destination points for future Azorean immigrants.

The decline of the citrus and wine industries threw the local economy into turmoil and migration was an attractive alternative for impoverished islanders in the nineteenth century. Whaling served a dual purpose for the islanders in that it provided a limited amount of local employment as well as a means of transport to carry the islanders to a new economic frontier. At the same time, animal husbandry, small scale commerce and migrant remittances supported an otherwise stagnating economy on the islands.⁶⁷

Migrant Labor to the United States

Between 1870 and 1874, 46,828 emigrants from Portugal and the Azores went to Brazil. A large majority of these emigrants, however, were either unable to find work or died from disease. Because of its stagnating economy and the frequent chance of illness, Brazil was in the latter part of the nineteenth century becoming an unpopular migrant destination. At the same time, "the mills of New Bedford, Fall River and Providence seemed to have an insatiable demand for laborers and many Azoreans joined the ranks of the 'industrial workers'."⁶⁸

The technology related to maritime travel also underwent a dramatic change in the nineteenth century. Steam ships slowly replaced wind powered vessels and this shortened the travelling time necessary to cross the Atlantic. Horta in the latter half of the nineteenth century became an important fueling station for steamships crossing the Atlantic. As the employment of this new energy source increased, the ships that stopped in Horta to take on

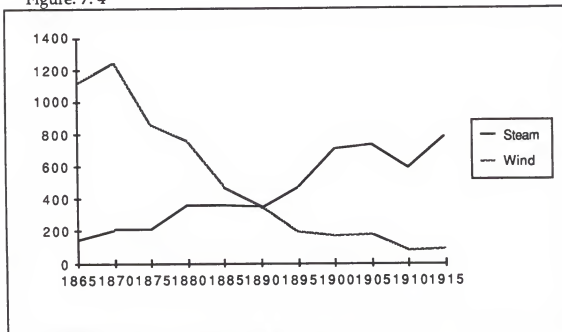
⁶⁶ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁷ Walker, (1886).

⁶⁸ Williams, (1982), 13.

coal also grew. Many of these ships left Horta with more than full coal bins as the late nineteenth century was the period when migration to the United States began in full force.

Figure: 7. 4



Ships that Docked in Horta Harbor, 1865-1915

Source: *Arquivo Dos Açores*: Vol. XII, 579.

Manuel Pereira who travelled to New Bedford from Horta in 1901 described the voyage in the following way: "The weather was agreeable and the food sufficient. The weather was not the best, but in those days, as it still is today, when one emigrates one subjects oneself to everything."⁶⁹

The American economy was receptive to this new wave of immigration. The whalers had carved out ethnic niches that would serve as a magnets for successive waves of Azorean migrants. While Portugal continued to indulge in empire building, its economy was being transformed

⁶⁹ M. Pereira, "A Emigração Há Cinquenta Anos," *Boletim do Núcleo Cultural da Horta*, (1964), Vol. 1, 3, 484.

in another way. Migrants left in great numbers but many also returned, buying land and providing a necessary stimulus to the economy in times of crisis.

Emigrants from the Azores ever retain an affectionate remembrance of their former homes, and unless prevented by family ties, return, sometimes with considerable fortunes, to end their days here.⁷⁰

In the eighteenth century the pattern of outmigration from the Azores began to shift from colonial empire to the industrial regions. While merchants such as John Dabney provided the initial linkage with North America, Azoreans who worked on the whalers, to a large extent, established the ethnic boundaries that would define future migratory patterns to the United States. Azorean migration to the United States continued at a steady pace until 1920 when quota laws began to interrupt this flow.

Prior to 1895 migration from northern and western Europe still exceeded migrant flows from the southern and eastern parts of the continent. In 1890, 286,147 migrants went to the United States from north and western Europe compared to 160,659 from the south and eastern parts. By 1896 migration from the latter regions had overtaken migration from the northern and the western parts of Europe.⁷¹

The transition from merchant capital to industrial capital had a profound impact on labor movement from southern Europe. In the nineteenth century capital increasingly began to be concentrated in certain regions. While primary resources were still being transferred from colonial hinterlands to the industrial centers, a new resource began to move to these

⁷⁰ Walker, (1986), 109.

⁷¹ *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, (New York, 1970), Vol. 1.

centers in larger frequencies. In spite of advances in technology, large numbers of laborers were needed in the growing industrial heartlands to work the new machines and assist in the transfer of raw commodity into finished product. Once labor in itself became a commodity that could "be bought and sold like any other commodity,"⁷² another element became important in the negotiation of this labor power. In the beginning of the twentieth century the state through the instigation of immigration procedures and labor quotas became an important force in the transfer of labor power from one productive region to another.

⁷² Wolf, (1982), 354.

THE PORTUGUESE STATE AND MIGRATION, 1926-1976.

Where before the twentieth century the Portuguese state benefited economically from migrant labor in colonial territory and to a certain extent from labor that had migrated to other parts of Europe and North America, in the twentieth century the rules that pertained to official migration changed. The twentieth century saw both the closing and the opening of the immigration gates in the United States. Below I describe how the Portuguese state structurally adjusted to these changes in American immigration policy. Between 1926 and 1950 this adjustment is best perceived in terms of a period of retraction, of the development of insular policy in an era of global economic and political turmoil. On the Azores during this period changes in American immigration policy, the corporate policies of Salazar, and the disruption of shipping lanes in the Atlantic during World War II, all contributed to the reconstitution of a peasant economy. After 1950, when the immigration gates again opened in the United States (and now with the addition of Canada), the peasant economy was again transformed into a migrant economy.

The Portuguese state throughout colonial history has played a significant role in the movement of peoples from one productive region to another. Beginning in the fifteenth century there were already state policies that offered migrants certain incentives to relocate to new economic frontiers.

Azoreans were initially attracted to the islands through inducements of land. Conversely, seventeenth century saw the enactment of similar state policies whereby islanders were offered land and other life necessities in exchange for their willingness to move to yet another new frontier. In the nineteenth century, the Portuguese state did not play an active role in Azorean migration to North America. The nineteenth century marked the commencement of a new trend in migration history--that of official immigration. Where previously migrant labor moved within the boundaries of colonial empire, in the nineteenth century quotas were implemented to control not only the human numbers that flowed to the new economic frontier but to ascertain that those who arrived were of the proper ethnic and racial stock.¹

The pattern that began in the nineteenth century revolved around what Eric Wolf describes as the recruitment of the "new laborers" and the creation of a working class that would solely subsist by virtue of the sale of their labor.² While this new class of laborers was attracted to the emerging industrial regions, the process of full incorporation into capitalist enterprise was a selective one. In the new regime, the class lines for certain groups were rigidly drawn. Southern Europeans were recruited for their labor power and their participation in capitalist enterprise was defined by economic variables. Socially and culturally these new immigrant arrivals retained their cultural homogeneity through strategies of withdrawal and seclusion. Ethnic neighborhoods proliferated in the United States and these new communities came to be defined by occupational specialization.³

¹ See Taft, (1923).

² Wolf, (1982), 361.

³ Williams, (1982).

One can describe this simultaneous process of recruitment and exclusion as part of a larger conspiratorial package through which the agents of capitalist enterprise promote certain class interests at the expense of others. From this perspective, the process of labor recruitment specifically promotes the goals of a capitalist class. Members of this class use the state apparatus to achieve certain objectives and the long-term recruitment of labor power places limitations on these objectives. As Wolf writes:

The process by which new working classes are simultaneously created and segmented has continued down to the present. It has followed the general rhythm of capitalist accumulation, which spurred the development of new labor power as it intensified and then narrowed the demand for labor as it slackened.⁴

This chapter examines how the contraction and the expansion of this larger labor market manifested itself on migratory patterns on the Azores. While the larger phenomenon of labor migration needs to be articulated in relation to global factors, the emphasis on macro-structural variables has certain limitations. Aristide Zolberg argues that the macrostructural theorists have no interest in two characteristics of international migration: that large percentages of the world's population would like to migrate but are prevented from doing so because of political obstacles; and that economic factors are not always the primary reason why people migrate.⁵ To often researchers who examine the structural factors of labor movement ignore the intervening variable between the sending community and the host society. The absent variable is the state. Therefore, in order to understand migratory

⁴ Wolf, (1982), 361

⁵ A. Zolberg, "International Migrations in Political Perspective," *Global Trends in Migration* M. Kritz, C. Keely and S. Tomasi, (eds), (New York, 1983), 4.

patterns from the Azores in the twentieth century, the role that state policy has played in inducing and constraining labor movement from the islands must be clarified.

For Portugal, state policies that pertain exclusively to migration are not the only factors that need to be considered. State policy that is formulated around the lack of opportunity for migration is also an important factor in describing how a state structure deals with a sending society whose members are no longer able to migrate. The policies that were devised in the United States to curb immigration during the general economic crisis that preceded the "Great Depression" were formally written in immigration law. Beginning in 1924, quotas were established that severely curtailed labor flows from southern Europe to the United States.⁶ The policies of the host nation at this time were clearly defined. What has not been examined in great detail are the state policies that were designed by the sending nations to accommodate a stable labor force.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a huge trade deficit developed between Portugal and the more industrialized nations. On the one hand, the policies of the Republicans, which advocated uncontrolled spending that was subsidized through the attainment of international loans, had increased Portugal's dependency in the global economic arena. On the other hand, increased outmigration from Portugal to the industrial metropolises in the United States provided remittance returns that brought in dollars. In the beginning of the twentieth century both of these economic wells dried up. International loans were difficult to acquire in an era of global

⁶ Williams, (1982).

economic crisis and migrant remittances also decreased with the introduction of the quota system in the United States.

To a large extent the policies of Oliveira Salazar who became finance minister in 1926 were formulated in response to these larger global phenomena. Salazar, whose dictatorship was the longest standing in Europe in the twentieth century, attempted to deal with the problem of the deficit through the instigation of an austerity program. Internal development that required foreign loans was not undertaken. To reduce the reliance on imports Salazar encouraged activities related to self-sufficiency. The positive result of this combined economic strategy was that Portugal emerged from the second world war with one of the strongest currencies in Europe. The negative consequence of Salazar's program was, that in Europe, Portugal remained an agricultural hinterland surrounded by growing industrial economies.

Salazar's policies had a social as well as an economic dimension. To revive the Portuguese economy required a strong social commitment, a program of social cohesion that would reduce individual aspirations and emphasize national unity. Salazar, himself, expressed how he saw the role of the state in the following way:

The State should be prepared to accept the responsibility of protecting and directing national economy through the measures adopted through the defense of the realm, through public order and the administration of justice. Its responsibilities should also cover such matters as the institution of social and economic conditions of production, technical instruction and services which are auxiliary to economic activities.⁷

⁷ O. Salazar, *Doctrine and Action*, (London, 1939), 167.

In the rural sectors in Portugal the protection of the national economy involved the reconstitution of a peasant economy. Localized institutions, called *casas do povo*, were installed both to encourage agricultural production and to instill the proper social spirit. During the depression and the war years remittances still flowed back to Portugal but the levels were no where near those which existed during the heyday years of pre-depression migration. On the Azores remittance monies were used to subsidize the domestic economy as peasants used their dollars to purchase necessities. Thus domestic consumption was fueled through the receipt of remittance monies and this consumption supported the class interests of a few families who resided in Ponta Delgada and controlled the chief industries on the São Miguel. Merchants on the various islands also benefited from the receipt of dollars.

Before embarking on a discussion of the role migrant labor has played on both the local and national levels in the Portuguese economy, it is important to outline how the state has functioned historically in Portugal. Twentieth century migrational patterns are in one sense a departure from those that existed during other historical periods in that political boundaries became more circumscribed and limited the free flow of labor. In another way there is a continuity to how the state in Portugal has used labor in very strategic ways to realize certain economic objectives. While the Portuguese state has become a more visible participant in the movement of migrant labor in the twentieth century it has not been a passive entity historically.

The State

Harriet Moore demarcates four general ways in which anthropologists have traditionally viewed state structures: the functional model; the pristine, and its successor the systems model; the conflict model; and the incorporative

model.⁸ Of these four approaches, the functional, conflict and incorporative frameworks combined can be used to examine how the Portuguese state has historically coordinated the movement of migrant labor.

The integrationist or functional approach to understanding state structures informs how the state through its component institutions integrates dispersed societal elements. This kind of analysis explains how those who have historically controlled the state in Portugal have used the corporative structure of the state to reinforce specific class interests. The corporative state has a long history in Portugal—a history that Sidney Greenfield traces back to the fifteenth century.

The model of the state and society developed by the Portuguese Prince Dom Pedro in the early fifteenth century is almost a prototype of what political scientists and others today refer to as the corporate, organicist, patrimonial state; and his suggestions on the subject of distributive justice, for the reduction and elimination of poverty, are an almost ideal type of the systems of patronage and clientage discussed by contemporary anthropologists and sociologists.⁹

From the sixteenth century onward this patronage system has been used effectively by the Portuguese state to justify labor relocation. In official correspondences in the sixteenth and seventeenth, the reasons cited for encouraging the relocation of Azorean settlers were poverty, over-population and volcanic eruptions. In the twentieth century, the quota system was extended for Azoreans for similar humanitarian reasons when a submarine volcano erupted off the coast of the island of Faial in 1957. The ideological rationale for encouraging Azoreans to migrate has been defined in

⁸ H. Moore, *Feminism and Anthropology*, (Minnesota, 1988), 130-131.

⁹ H. Wiarda, "Prefatory Note," in *The Patrimonial State and Patron-Client Relations in Iberia and Latin America*, (Amherst, 1976).

humanitarian terms. The state is thus a benevolent force that takes care of its members during periods of crisis. For the most part, the incorporative framework focuses on how the state perceives its role in the migration process and not how economic advantages accrue to the state through the movement of labor from one productive region to another.

The incorporative framework is similar to the integrative approach, but it adds an important dimension to the functional model in that it focuses on how the state interposes between the various levels of societal organization. Ideologically, the state is depicted as a benevolent actor in Portuguese life, providing for the sick and the homeless and ensuring that the Portuguese receive their just rewards. The state is thus the "patron" and fulfils many of the functions that extended kin networks would usually fill in other societal contexts. Portuguese rural social organization, as we shall see in the following chapters, can only be understood within the context of incorporative state intervention.

The conflict framework holds that the state serves as a structural apparatus through which surplus is expropriated by the ruling class.¹⁰ Moving beyond the organizational model of the state, this framework explains how labor is appropriated and organized for surplus extraction. Using this approach, migrant labor, even if in foreign locales, can be seen as perpetuating class interests in Portugal. Azorean laborers, who were induced to migrate to Brazil through the bestowment of land grants and related benefits in the seventeenth century, provided the state with important revenues which were used to help pay the trade imbalance. Through loans

¹⁰ D. Legros, "Chance, Necessity and Mode of Production: A Marxists Critique of Cultural Evolutionism," *Mode of Production*, J. Silverberg (ed.), (New York, 1979).

provided to migrants and through channeled remittance payments, the state structure is reinforced through the exploitation of migrant labor.

If one combines the above three perspectives, a pattern emerges that explains the Portuguese state in its various historical configurations. For example, the socialist state that gained power and rewrote the constitution after the 1974 revolution can be seen as a peoples' state that truly represents the interests of the exploited classes. Or the socialist state can be perceived as a form of state capitalism that opened up different opportunities for labor deployment, and the realization of profits, in continental Europe. In this way, Portuguese state strategy has followed a consistent historical pattern. In the fifteenth century state interests coincided with mercantile interests and the Portuguese crown actively supported merchant ventures. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese state encouraged labor to migrate from a region, the Azores, experiencing economic crisis to a region, Brazil, undergoing economic expansion. In the nineteenth century, Portuguese labor began to migrate to the industrial regions and to a certain extent helped underwrite the economic crisis Portugal was experiencing with the loss of the Brazilian empire. In the twentieth century, Salazar's corporative policies were devised in an era of global economic crisis. With the expansion of the world economy after the second world war and the increase in Portuguese migration to industrial regions in Europe and North America, Portuguese state policy shifted to take advantage of the profits that resulted from this labor flow.

Portuguese state policy has historically been formulated within the larger context of the global economy. Marxian theorists write generally about the types of structural situations that leave people no recourse but to migrate. Class differentiation, lack of access to resources and the general inequalities

associated with capitalism are all variables that start people along the migrant continuum. Migration is thus a structural consequence.¹¹ Migrant labor, from a macro-structural perspective, represents a reserve army of workers who are manipulated through the international division of labor. Elizabeth Petra writes that:

Within and forming this world-scale division of labor, a complex network of cross-national movements of capital, commodities and labor takes place as the expansion of the whole proceeds on the basis of the disharmonious rates of growth among and within regional aggregates.¹²

Historically, the Azorean solution to the concentration of capital in the industrial regions has been out-migration. Azoreans as a labor force in the United States have directly contributed to industrial growth. Conversely, while Azoreans migrate on their own volition, their labor power even in a foreign context reinforces class interests on the Azores. A macrostructural approach to migration thus allows one to see the larger economic realities that condition migratory flows.

But while migratory patterns are the result of an international division of labor, institutional apparatuses, such as the state, that help to direct this labor flow are also transformed through this interaction. In this way the corporative structure of Salazar developed in reaction to international events, but the specific character of the *estado novo* was the result of the vision of one man.

¹¹ For a review of the historical structural approach see C. Wood, "Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives on Migration," *International Migration Review*, Volume 16, No. 2: 298-319.

¹² E. Petras, "The Global Labor Market in the Modern World Economy," *Global Trends in Migration* M. Kritiz, C. Keely and S. Tomasi, (eds), (New York, 1983), 45.

Salazar and Corporativism

Dr. Oliveira Salazar, the architect of the modern Portuguese state, maintained that fascism is not a general political form of organization as each leader attempts to fashion the state in accordance with his own personal vision. Salazar, for example, argued that his vision of state organization differed markedly from the Italian state under Mussolini.¹³ Despite Salazar's view of his own role in defining the state, the Fascist state does seem to have more than one ingredient that is common to all the European states which experimented in this type of state despotism in the twentieth century. One ingredient is a personality that is in the true sense of the Weberian concept, charismatic. The fascist leader invokes a nationalistic spirit and maintains an ideological stance that promotes a distinctive ethnic heritage. Ethnicity is converted to a national identity in an attempt to revitalize the population to achieve national objectives. Salazar was an excellent manipulator of this ideological device.

The idea of cultural unity was another common factor that the fascist states of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Greece and Portugal shared. In essence, fascism is a form of social Darwinism where the societal form is presented as a family and the ultimate objective of the harmonious consolidation of institutional types is to weed out disruptive elements. The structure of society is represented hierarchically and at each level it is replicated. In Portugal, the structure of the *estado novo* was recreated on the local level through the institution of *casas do povo* and *casa do pescadores* and in the urban areas through the *sindicatos*.¹⁴

¹³ H. Kay, *Salazar and Modern Portugal*, (London, 1970).

¹⁴ H. Wiarda, "The Corporatist Tradition and the Corporative System in Portugal: Structured, Evolving, Transcended, Persistent," *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and its*

An ideology of self-sufficiency is promoted through fascist doctrine but this self-sufficiency can only be obtained through co-operation and unity. Salazar's program of self-sufficiency was a response on one level to the massive trade deficit of the republican period (1910-1926).¹⁵ But Salazar's self-sufficiency program was also promoted by other factors and these were international. While the republicans ran up the trade deficit in the early twentieth century, the economy was subsidized informally through migrant remittances. By the time Salazar came to power, outmigration to the United States had come to a halt as a result of restricted emigration policies. Salazar thus was confronted with the insurmountable task of developing economic policies during the time of the world depression. Salazar's economic policies must be understood in light of these larger factors.

There is no doubt that Salazar was a brutal dictator despised by the people he ruled. But Salazar also held a doctorate in economics from Coimbra and most Portuguese academics that I talked to supported the view that Salazar was a brilliant economist. Although Salazar refused to develop industry because he did not want to borrow the money to finance business and further increase the trade deficit, he did increase agricultural production and this allowed the Portuguese to survive the war period.

The Azores Under Salazar

A discussion of the period from the time that Salazar formally attained power in 1933 until migration to North America began anew after the second

Antecedents, L. Graham and H. Makler (eds), (Austin, 1979), provides an excellent overview of the *Estado Novo*.

¹⁵ Kay, (1970).

world war is complicated by a number of factors. The Atlantic ocean around the Azores during the second world war was an extremely inhospitable environment. German and Allied submarines, as well as other military ships, reconnoitered in the ocean near the islands on a regular basis. The American military maintained an air base on the island of Santa Maria and this attracted German submarines. Older Azoreans recall seeing submarines off the islands and the presence of patrols looking for suspected spies on the islands themselves. The islanders were also wary of burning lamps at night lest they present a target for a hostile bomber.

The war climate did more than provide a psychological drama for Azoreans. Shipping to the Azores was regularly interrupted and this presented problems for an economy dependent on imports. Salazar's program of self-sufficiency was therefore reinforced by the events of the war as the islanders had to rely on themselves to produce the majority of their foods. Thus, the war environment exacerbated an already precarious economic situation. A statement of appeal by the Azorean congress to be permitted to open a *matadouro* (a slaughter house) describes the impoverished living conditions that the islanders were subjected to during the depression years. There was little food available and the consumption of meat was a rarity. A typical meal consisted of soup and corn bread and at times fish. Meat was primarily consumed during *feira* events such as the *espírito santo*.¹⁶

The islanders material life revolved around the production of subsistence foods for household consumption and raising cattle and cultivating wheat for export to the continent. Except for jobs on the docks in

¹⁶ *Primeiro Congresso Açoreano 1938*, (Lisbon, 1940).

the port cities there was little work available on the islands. As Portugal maintained a status of neutrality during the second world war, the military did not require additional recruits that would have alleviated some of the pressure on the local economy.

The material impoverishment on the islands reinforced social connections among the islanders. Islanders on Faial and Pico traded wheat and wine and this produced a symbiotic relationship that was mutually advantageous to all. The *festas* that were held in the villages attracted large numbers of people. Families entered into illegal contracts (*associações*) through which they redistributed the meat among the families in the collective. The collectives were created for pragmatic reasons so that large amounts of meat could be used at once rather than spoil but they had the supplemental benefit of promoting social ties between families.

Migration from the Azores to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century divided the Azorean community. A sizeable percentage of Azoreans worked the industrial mills in New England while the remainder stayed behind on the islands. Although Azoreans who migrated to the United States were fully proletarianized through the sale of their labor they subsidized the peasant economy on the islands. Once the opportunities for migration decreased, however, remittances diminished as well. During the early years of the Salazar regime the state response to declining remittances was the resurrection of a peasant economy. This situation rapidly changed with the end of the second world war when the industrial economies began to go through a new phase of prolonged expansion.

Through an austerity program that was at the same time internally imposed and externally generated, Portugal emerged from the war showing a

trade surplus. The surplus in the trade balance, however, would be short-lived. In 1946, the Portuguese balance of trade was + 509 million escudos but by 1947 this surplus had been reduced to a deficit of - 2,962 million escudos.¹⁷ Salazar's economic strategies had worked well during the war but they were largely maladaptive once the other European powers began to re-develop their economies. A solution that had worked well for Portugal in the past was migration and the government actively pursued this option.¹⁸

Migration to Canada

In the early 1950s the Canadian government began to solicit the Portuguese government about the possibility of recruiting agricultural workers from its populace. In what has been described as the "pioneer phase" of immigration to Canada, beginning in 1952 Portuguese men started to arrive in Canada.¹⁹ Many of these men initially intended to work in Canada a short time and then return to the islands with their savings. The life for the immigrants was difficult. They did not know the language and since they were recruited as agricultural workers they were not eagerly welcomed into the social universe of the average Canadian.

Considering the conditions that the immigrants to Canada lived and worked under it is not remarkable that they sought refuge in ethnic enclaves. Even though many of the immigrants were recruited for agricultural work, once they arrived they found they either could not get to their place of destination or that they had arrived during the off-season. Consequently,

¹⁷ M. Henderson, *Overseas Economic Survey*, (London, 1951).

¹⁸ G. Anderson and D.Higgs, *A Future to Inherit*, (Toronto, 1976), 27.

¹⁹ Ibid.

many immigrants began to work for the railroad, laying and maintaining track in remote areas.

The immigrants situation in Canada was compounded by the fact that many of the early recruits did not have experience in agricultural work. Job advertisements and bulletins announcing the opportunity to emigrate were placed in local newspapers and the first to respond were those who lived in the urban areas. The first immigrants were therefore ill-equipped to deal with the hardship and humiliation that they confronted on their arrival. For those who were directed to agricultural work, prospective employers came to the immigration office, the hiring station, to select the workers they needed. Before being hired the physique of the immigrant was scrutinized and they were asked to hold out their hands so their calluses could be examined. Anderson and Higgs note that this experience in itself created social distance between Canadian and immigrant, employer and worker.²⁰

A large majority of these pioneer immigrants persevered in the new socio-economic setting and after a period of one or two years returned to the islands to settle their debts and to either find or collect their wives. When they returned to the islands with their savings, other Azoreans were impressed with how such large sums of money could be earned within a short period of time and they began to test the immigration waters themselves. The new pioneers initiated a pattern that would draw successive waves of Azorean immigrants to Canadian cities. Anderson and Higgs describe how the constant rhythm of migration was perpetuated.

²⁰ Ibid., 38.

As soon as the men were able they changed to more remunerative jobs. If one immigrant found a more remunerative position, he wrote home about it. News was traded in the home villages and the towns, and addresses of compatriots arrived in the mail together with details of possible job opportunities...In their letters home, the men would report that their salaries had increased but would omit saying that now they lost most of it paying for room and board...Again and again the immigrants moved, trying to equal or surpass the record set by hometown men for earnings abroad and eager to justify their decision to migrate.²¹

In part the constant migrant outflow from the Azores was dictated by need. The impoverished living conditions on the islands forced Azoreans to entertain any alternative that was available to them. From 1950 until after the 1974 revolution the only realistic option available to Azoreans was migration. While the actual process of moving from one locale to another depended on individual initiative, the larger phenomenon of the large scale movement of labor was engineered by the state. Canada needed laborers and Portugal had a surplus.

To discuss how Azorean migrants navigated their way through immigration bureaucracy is to a large extent an academic concern. For Azoreans the immigration rules were lax enough to permit those who wanted to come to Canada to do so. Up until 1972, an Azorean only had to enter Canada with a visitors status and then apply for landed immigrant status. Following 1972, Azorean migrants who wanted to apply for official status needed to leave the country while their application was being processed. Because of decreasing labor needs the Canadian government also began to require that potential immigrants be sponsored by relatives.²²

²¹ Ibid., 42.

²² Ibid.

During the early years of immigration to Canada there were attempts to equalize the regional distribution of immigrants. The Canadian government needed laborers but to draw this labor pool from one specific region lead to the wholesale depopulation of particular areas.

About this time (1957-58) serious doubts began to be felt in the Immigration branch about the Portuguese movement. The Portuguese government was obviously making efforts to concentrate our recruiting activities in the Azores.²³

Migration to the United States

The Portuguese state after the second world war appeared to make a conscious effort to direct its population by region to specific industrial zones. From northern Portugal many of the migrants went to France. From Madeira migrants continued to go to South America, primarily Venezuela, and to South Africa. Azoreans went to Europe, South America and South Africa as well but their numbers are insignificant in terms of an overall pattern. In 1957, a natural calamity struck the island of Faial and an old horizon reopened for Azorean migrants.

The relationship between volcanic eruptions and outmigration from the Azores is sometimes distorted by government officials. For example, an Agency for International Development report states that:

In recent memory the most dramatic events were the Capelinhos volcanic eruption on Faial in 1957-58, an earthquake on São Jorge and Pico in 1973. Popular memory is most emotional about Faial, where lava flows and volcanic activity persisted over several months. While damage was confined to the west end of the island away from the city of Horta on the east, a "massive"

²³ F. Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration*, (Montreal, 1972), 49-50, cited in G. Anderson and D. Higgs, *A Future to Inherit*, (Toronto, 1976), 29.

emigration from Faial occurred nonetheless from which the island never recover economically. Part of this exodus was aided by a bill introduced in the U.S. Congress allowing accelerated immigration, a course of action that Azorean officials discouraged in 1980 citing the objective of avoiding "another Faial".²⁴

Migration from Faial to the United States accelerated after 1958 but people left in hoards from the other islands as well. The pattern of outmigration from all the islands during the period from 1960 until the present is essentially the same (see Figures 8. 1 and 8. 2 below). To attribute outmigration during this period to the 1958 volcano on Faial misrepresents the actual benefits gained by the Portuguese state as a consequence of this large-scale migration.

By focusing specifically on Faial, government officials obscure the real reasons for outmigration from the islands after the second world war. The government has historically used an interactionist rationale to encourage Azoreans to migrate. The historical circumstances are different today than they were in the seventeenth century, but the basic motives are the same. The state's objective, as recently as 1980, was to encourage labor to migrate in order to increase remittance returns to the islands.

The reduced number of migrants leaving the Azores after 1970 is related to the reality that there were few people left who wanted to migrate. Virtually any Azorean who wished to immigrate during this period could do so. After the 1974 revolution socio-economic conditions began to improve in the Azores and this also reduced the desire to immigrate. Today on Faial it is difficult to find an Azorean who even wants to immigrate. The few

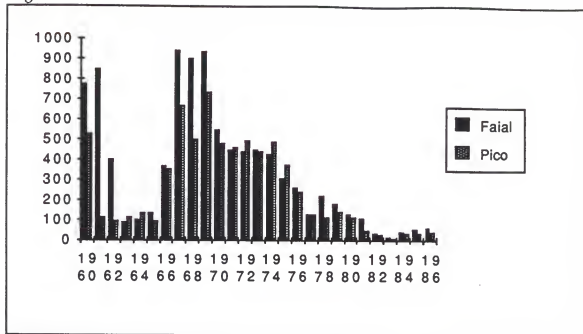
²⁴ "January 1, 1980 Azores Earthquake Reconstruction," *Problemática Da Reconstrução*, (Angra do Heroísmo, 1983).

Azoreans who actually want to leave are recent arrivals on the islands. Immigrants from Mozambique and Angola do not have the local resources to live comfortably in the Azores and many would like to relocate in North America. Unfortunately, immigration policies in both Canada and the United States have been tightened again and many of these recent arrivals do not qualify. According to both American and Canadian immigration officials on the islands, the ordinary Azorean has no problem obtaining the green card for the United States or landed immigrant status for Canada. Another mechanism that facilitates immigration is that many Azoreans have relatives in North America who can sponsor them. After the 1980 earthquake on Terceira again although there were U.S. overtures to open up the gates, local islanders were not receptive to this offer. Local refusal to migrate was related to not wanting to create another "*triste*" (sadness).

Much of the current American interest in the Azores stems from its importance as defense outpost for the United States navy. The American military presence in the Azores has reinforced American/Portuguese relations. In the early 1960s, Salazar negotiated with John Kennedy on an almost day to day basis about the military base in the Azores. It is difficult to say whether these negotiations contributed to increased migration from the Azores to the United States. Portugal during the Kennedy administration was receiving a great deal of bad publicity because of revolts in the colonial territories of Angola and Goa. According to Francis Rogers, the upper classes in Portugal were hostile to the Kennedy administration because of the negative stance Kennedy took in regard to Portuguese colonial enterprise.²⁵

²⁵ Rogers, (1979), 84.

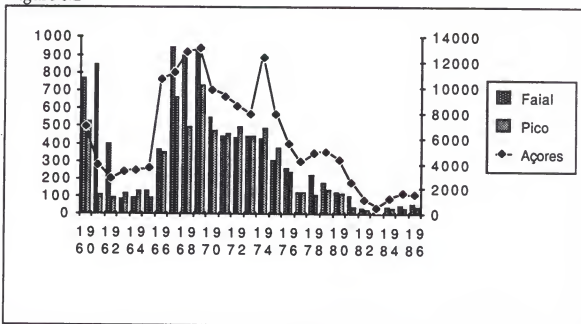
Figure 8. 1



Migration from Pico and Faial to North America

Source: Direcção De Serviços De Emigração.

Figure 8.2



Migration from the Azores to North America

Source: Direcção De Serviços De Emigração.

The average Azorean did not share this perception. The United States was an economic lifeline for Azoreans and Kennedy as a senator from Massachusetts had been instrumental in increasing the quotas for the islanders following the Faial volcano.

In Portugal, antagonistic political relations with other nations have historically not interrupted economic exchanges between these same nations. A Portuguese essayist, in 1964, composed a literary message to remind the Americans that Portugal is quite willing to respond by military force to any threat to their autonomy. The essay resurrects a confrontation in the Azores between the British and the Portuguese in 1902 that led to the withdrawal of the British from Portuguese waters. At this time the United States government was entertaining notions of annexing the Azores and the show of threat against the British destroyed this imperialistic dream.²⁶ Rogers points out, however, that despite the anti-American sentiments that existed in Portugal, the government continued to do business with the "rapist".²⁷

The United States and the Portuguese do have some common interests on the Azores. The United States military benefits through the occupation of a strategic area that allows them to monitor submarine traffic in the mid-Atlantic. Portugal's reward for the presence of the base has been increased quotas that allowed Azoreans to work in U. S labor markets. These increased opportunities for outmigration have brought back remittances that have reinforced an otherwise stagnating subsistence economy; and the dollars when turned into escudos helped pay the national debt. Both countries have thus profited from the base on Terceira.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 85.

In the United States, Azoreans were recruited for factory work in Massachusetts and other New England states and the fishing and dairy industry in California. The migrants settled ethnic enclaves in a pattern that followed the route paved by the early whalers. While there was a constant flow of migrants from the Azores to North America during the 1950s, the migrational flow accelerated after 1960 when immigration policies were eased in the United States and Canada.

Migration to the United States has also served as an escape valve that has diffused social unrest on the islands. Caroline Brettell writes that in northern Portugal outmigration has prevented the development of a collective class consciousness.²⁸ Migration has achieved the same result in the Azores for independence movements and social revolts fade quickly from the common mind during periods of economic prosperity. And migration did help boost the fortunes of the islanders during the long Salazar years.

The State and Remittances

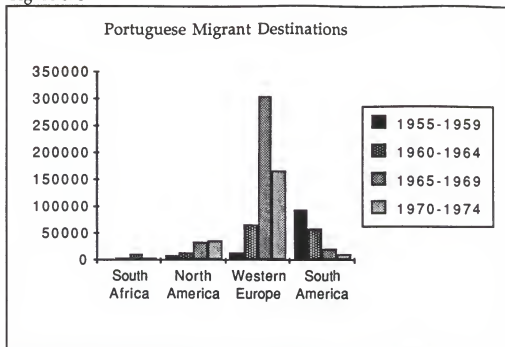
In general the Portuguese economy in the twentieth century has been extremely dependent on remittance monies. There are very distinctive patterns to Portuguese migration. As Figure 8. 4 indicates, the major remittance flows for the continental Portugal come from Western Europe. Madeirans have historically primarily gone to Venezuela and Brazil and in recent years to South Africa, although a small number go to North America. The Madeiran economy is thus reinforced from these different geographical sources. In contrast, almost all Azoreans go to North America and

²⁸ C. Brettell, "Emigration and Its Implications for the Revolution in Northern Portugal," *Contemporary Portugal: The Revolution and its Antecedents*, L. Graham and H. Makler (eds), (Austin, 1979).

remittances from the United States and Canada constitute a sizeable percentage of the Azorean GNP.

Prior to the government nationalization, the remittance monies came back to the Azores in a number of ways. Relatives sent money directly to family members still in the Azores. This type of remittance flow was more common shortly after the postwar migrations began than it is today as Azoreans depended on this form of remittance during the Salazar era because the island economy was extremely depressed. Another type of remittance that was popular during the Salazar years was the practise of sending money back to feed a whole village. Even though the practise of feeding a whole village through remittances had declined on Faial by 1988, it is still quite frequent on Pico. For example, on Pico, there are a number of migrants who have established accounts with local bakeries which are used to pay for weekly bread deliveries to one village. In the village in which we lived there were two such remittance accounts. Through one of these accounts, each member of the village receives one bread a week. The other account is more sporadic and the villagers receive bread from that account every two or three weeks. Remittance monies also come back to the whole village through the *Espírito Santo*. The concept of feeding the whole village during the *Espírito Santo* is again more common on Faial than it is on Pico. On Pico, migrants still return after making a *promessa* and donate meat to the village as a whole (see Chapter 12).

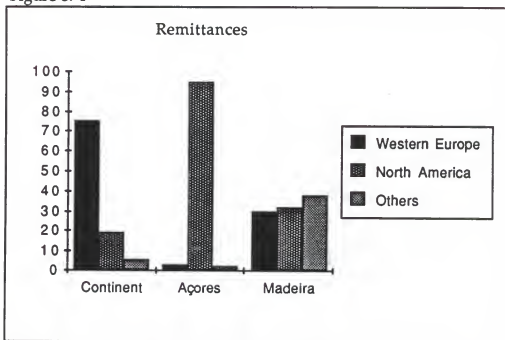
Figure 8. 3



Portuguese Atlantic Migration (1955-1974)

Source: Arroteia (1983)

Figure 8. 4



Regional Sources of Portuguese Remittances

Source: Direcção De Serviços De Emigração.

The importance of migrant remittances to the Portuguese economy is demonstrated by the steps that the state took after the revolution to channel remittances into the formal sector. At first, the revolution was viewed suspiciously by Azorean migrants who did not want to send money home to support communism.²⁹ But the hatred of communism was only one factor that halted remittance flows for almost two years. Up until the revolution remittance monies flowed freely back to the migrants' families in the Azores but there was no controlling regulations on the entry of money into Portugal. After the revolution, the government nationalized the banks and migrants became afraid that if they sent money back to the islands the government would confiscate it.

Shortly after the revolution, the government embarked on what Richard Chaney calls the "capture the remittance program."³⁰ Before the revolution, remittance money was spent on domestic consumption largely because the migrant strategy in remitting was to support family members. With the capture the remittance program the government appealed to the individual interests of Azoreans. Many Azoreans while they remitted on a regular basis still accumulated sizable savings which they kept in North American banks. The Portuguese government wanted to induce Azoreans to invest this money directly in the Portuguese economy through savings accounts. The government began by offering high interest rates, around 25%,

²⁹ R. Chaney, "Uma Análise das Remesas dos Emigrantes a Nível Regional," in *Conflictos e Mudanças em Portugal: 1974-1984*, E. Ferreira and W. Opello (eds), (Durham, 1985). Much of the insights and information presented here were obtained from informal interviews with taxi drivers on Pico and Faial. Many of the taxi drivers had come back to the Azores to take advantage of the high interest the bank was offering.

³⁰ Chaney, (1985).

to encourage the flow of remittance money through official channels. Many Azorean migrants, as Table 8. 1 indicates took advantage of this opportunity.

Table 8. 1
Azorean Remittances

Year	Portuguese Escudos	United States Dollars	Escudos/Dollar
1977	418,700,000	10,300,000	40.65
1978	718,000,000	16,100,000	44.59
1979	1,170,500,000	23,700,000	49.38
1980	1,095,700,000	21,900,000	50.03
1981	1,729,100,000	28,100,000	61.53
1982	2,585,200,000	32,500,000	79.54
1983	4,155,800,000	37,000,000	112.31
1984	5,795,000,000	39,600,000	146.00

Source: Drepa 1986 *Açores em Números: 10 Anos de Autonomia*

The above figures might represent an increase in the amount of escudos per dollar and this may have encouraged remittances due to the strength of the American dollar.

For the state to divert remittance monies from social use to accounts that would specifically serve to benefit the individual migrant required both a change in attitude on the part of the migrant and the introduction of economic alternatives for Azoreans who had remained on the islands. The prospects of European economic integration that emerged following the 1974 revolution worked in the favor of the state in a number of ways. Foremost, it provided developmental capital that the state could use to stimulate the economy. The infusion of capital created jobs on the Azores and reduced the islanders dependence on remittances. With impending incorporation into the European community, Portugal's transition from a society that employed old outdated strategies for economic survival to a society that would be governed by the same forces as the rest of Europe was almost complete. Where prior to the revolution Azorean migrants felt a strong social obligation to remit, after the revolution the responsibility for the social

welfare of the individual was assumed by the state. The socialist state that took power after 1974 in Portugal introduced labor laws and social reforms that protected and supported the welfare of the individual. While there were obvious disparities in how these reforms manifested themselves nationally, on the Azores developmental capital created a new boom period for the island economy.

Prologue

The transition that occurred after the revolution was, however, more than an economic one. The European Economic Community (EEC) provided the capital for development but the economic program was intended to provoke social and cultural changes to accommodate market expansion. Energies that were previously devoted to social exercises needed to be redirected so that individuals would use wages earned through wage labor to purchase commodities imported from other countries in the EEC.

While Azoreans throughout the settlement history of the islands have always either directly or indirectly produced goods for the market, their social and cultural participation in capitalist enterprise had been until the 1974 revolution incomplete. Thus far in this work we have seen how the Azorean economy grew in conjunction with the expansion of merchant capital. During the early phase of this expansion, Azorean production for the market was prompted by social factors. Opportunities for social mobility presented themselves during boom periods in the economy and commodities that were produced on the islands were exchanged for other commodities. In times of crisis, when the value of island commodities declined, these social aspirations were realized through outmigration. This relationship between economic

and social factors did not change dramatically when the islanders were inducted into the industrial labor force in North America.

Before turning to a discussion of how the new phase of capitalist expansion in Portugal has impacted on the island socio-economic system, it is important to outline another force at work in the island universe. Absent from the discussion so far is any reference to the cultural cosmos of the islanders. To answer questions such as what motivates Azoreans to keep producing for a market economy, either on the islands or in other productive spheres, entails an examination of how culture acts on the individual and social consciousness. The production of cash crops on the islands and the sale of labor abroad have subsidized the island as well as the national economy. The process, however, that guarantees this participation is only partially attributable to economic factors. In the next chapter, I examine how the culture of capitalism is represented in the Azorean socio-economic milieu.

CULTURAL EXPRESSION IN THE AZORES

Throughout its history Montecastello seems to have followed a strategy of welcoming incorporation into larger polities within which it could further its interests. This political action had symbolic counterparts: the Montecastellesi readily identified with the encompassing unit (such as Papal states and Italian nation) but at the same time maintained a sense of local distinctiveness. Neither identity was precisely defined; the larger universe was represented by grandiose but general symbols, while there was considerable flexibility in what could be thought of as Montecastellese.¹

The processes through which local societies develop symbolic constructs that culturally define their place in the social universe has long fascinated anthropologists. If there is anything definitive about anthropology that sets it apart from other schools of social inquiry, it is the concept of culture. Yet, the concept remains to a large extent undefined within anthropology. Culture hovers intimidatingly and forebodingly over the discipline as a "grandiose" and "general" symbol of anthropological identity, awaiting localized interpretation. In this sense the anthropological community does not differ radically from other types of communities; in the midst of an ever increasing array of ideological symbols some are selected to provide local meaning, and a particular favorite of anthropologists is culture. Anthropologists continually borrow culture from the ideological shelf, use it

¹ S. Silverman, *Three Bells of Civilization*, (New York, 1975), 149.

as a point of departure for definition, and then return it to the universal bookcase with scarcely a worn page.

In this chapter I turn to an examination of the cultural dimension of the migration process. While Azoreans have historically moved to new economic frontiers, they have in large part retained elements of their own distinctive cultural identity. For the purpose of definition, the cultural identity that is maintained within the context of the sending society can be referred to as local culture. On the islands various factors have influenced the formulation of this identity historically. Continental social institutions were installed on the islands at the time of settlement and Azoreans have used these institutional types to construct their own cultural universe. Ideas and symbols have also filtered into the island cultural system as they were brought home by return migrants. The Azorean cultural universe is thus a product of the long migration history of the islands.

Just as the migration experience has spatially separated the islanders, their cultural system as well has been bifurcated. In the host society the cultural universe of the migrant is many times described as an ethnic identity. It is frequently assumed that the maintenance of an ethnic identity is a linear process—cultural artifacts are retained by migrants as they venture out and test the waters of a new way of life. Inhospitable treatment on the part of members of the host society, social isolation in ethnic communities and lack of familiarity with the new cultural surroundings are all factors which perpetuate an ethnic identity. But how does this ethnic seclusion promote cultural change in the sending society? Azorean migrants who have gone to the Americas have also historically come back home to the islands. Migrants have returned with their savings and in this way they have made an economic impact on the sending society. The cultural exchange that is a

product of this same migratory experience is, by ascribing to one group an ethnic culture and to the other a local culture, often not taken into consideration in a study of sending societies.

The migrants, as are the islanders who never migrated, are thus caught between two analytically separate cultural spheres. Azoreans, as Stuart Philpott has described the migrant experience for the Caribbean island of Montserrat, have their feet in two worlds. Philpott argues that the sending societies and the migrant communities should be viewed as constituent parts of a "common analytical framework."² To find how these analytically distinct cultural experiences are related necessitates more than an examination of the communities themselves, for the problem of conceptualization begins in how anthropologists view the concept of culture.

In this chapter then I first review some of the more common ways that culture has been viewed by social scientists and then turn to a discussion of how culture works as an interactive vehicle on the Azores. While Azorean culture is the product of the expansion of capitalist enterprise, the islanders have historically only been peripherally incorporated into the culture of capitalism. The social and economic mechanisms that cultivate individual aspirations have existed on the islands since their settlement. Working in tangent with a symbolic system that denotes that hard work can be translated into social mobility, however, is an ideological system that specifies that social status is fixed. Azorean culture has been influenced by the interplay of the forces of modernity, represented by capitalist culture, and the forces of tradition, represented through the ideology of Catholicism. As Azoreans

² S. Philpott, "Remittance Obligations, Social Networks and Choice among Montserratian Migrants in Britain, *Man* Vol. 3, 1, 466.

have migrated to the Americas they have encountered both social and cultural obstacles that prevent their total assimilation in the new frontier. So while the islanders have had ample opportunity to sell their labor and have received at times considerable financial remuneration through this exchange, the social benefits allocated them by capitalist enterprise have been minimal.

The system of social mobility that presented itself to the islanders through the expansion of merchant capital and the Portuguese program of colonialism closed rapidly with the advent of the industrial revolution. The migrant interaction with a rigidly defined class system encouraged their retreat into the traditional world of Catholicism. This traditional world itself was transformed through this experience as migrants sought economic success in other productive spheres and then attempted to elevate themselves socially by penetrating the rigidly defined boundaries of Catholicism. Symbols that defined success were taken from capitalist culture, reworked and implanted in the Azorean cultural universe.

The Concept of Culture

All symbolic icons, despite what may be their lack of relevance at any given historical moment, have a past, and the history of culture in the anthropological community is no exception to this rule. Peter Worsley outlines four ways in which culture has historically been used: the elitist; the holistic; the hegemonic; and the pluralist.³ The elitist interpretation of

³ P. Worsley (1984), 43. While I use Worsley's categories, I employ them in a somewhat different way than he does. In order to attain a better understanding of how culture has been used in anthropology it is necessary to expand on Worsley's list somewhat and elaborate on how each of the above cultural types has influenced cultural interpretation in anthropology. To begin, the concept pluralist seems too broad in that it encompasses the work of anthropologists from a variety of backgrounds, many of them contradictory. In anthropology, pluralism could refer to Marvin Harris's, *Cannibals and Kings*, (New York, 1977) a work on cultural riddles; to Clifford Geertz's, *Local Knowledge*, (New York, 1983) a work on

culture as the exclusive property of a privileged few, has, according to Worsley, its roots in Antiquity—a time when intellectuals, in order to disassociate their endeavors of high learning from the mundane affairs of the masses, reserved culture for activities that were "remote from the utilitarian, and, above all, from manual labor."⁴

The identification of culture with a higher order and the elaborate devices those of this higher order have developed to amuse themselves, is how many outside the halls of academia still perceive culture. Culture is not part of the domain of the *homme moyen sensuel* (the nonintellectual). Because of its subject field, few anthropologists, if any, would be comfortable with an elitist interpretation of culture and this particular viewpoint is best understood in terms of the reaction it precipitated in anthropology.

The elitist view of culture is found in most nineteenth century travel writings on the Azores. Mark Twain, the great American literary ethnographer, depicted the Azoreans he encountered as "a swarm of swarthy, noisy, lying, gesticulating Portuguese boatmen with brass rings in their ears and fraud in their hearts."⁵ The image that Ernesto Rebello, an Azorean writer, paints of these same boatman is, however, radically different than that presented by Twain. Rebello writes:

phenomenological symbols in their relativistic context; and to the work of cultural interpreters and their theories of cultural critique, M. Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason*, (Chicago, 1976); G. Marcus and M. Fisher, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, (Chicago, 1986). Therefore it is useful to distinguish between those in anthropology who use a pluralistic framework in a particularistic ahistorical way and those who argue for the merits of a cultural plurality within a wider frame of reference. It is also important to remember, as Worsley argues, that these constructs are "ideal types" and when anthropologists establish their cultural context they sometimes borrow from more than one of the above traditions.

⁴ Worsley, (1984), 44.

⁵ Twain, (1966), 36.

José Manoel was the head of the house, earning his living from the cultivation of some agricultural lands and hillsides that he rents, and from which, in reality, he reaps little surplus...the boys, his two sons, leave the parish every day at dawn, to go to work on the dock of Horta, returning home when night has already closed in.⁶

Twain wrote in his preface that the purpose of his travel diary was to present an account of Europe that is untainted by cultural baggage and that his diary unlike previous efforts is more honest because "I think I have seen with impartial eyes."⁷ Here one needs to consider what sort of transformation occurred in the behavior of the two peasant youths as they traveled from the village to the dock. The youths, according to Rebello's description, set out from the village to supplement the household income. Yet, by the time they encountered Twain they resembled pirates who were intent on separating him from his belongings. Twain, despite his explicit attempt at objectivity, based his interpretation of Azorean life on criteria that were derived from another cultural context. For example, intelligence to Twain is somehow synonymous with the quest for knowledge, which he says does not exist in the Azores because the local people are not informed about the American civil war. Twain's writing, with the notable exception of the monograph by W. Walker, is representative of travel writing for the nineteenth century on the Azores. The work of British writers such as Ashe and Boid is fueled by their contempt of Azorean social and cultural life. The culturally biased descriptions that these writers forwarded manifested themselves in American immigration policy in the early twentieth century. Azoreans were recruited

⁶ E. Rebello, *Notas Açorianas*, Volume II. (Ponta Delgada, 1885), 67.

⁷ Twain, (1966), 15.

for their labor potential, not for their cultural and social contributions to the emerging American melting pot.

The concept of culture came to anthropology and the English language in 1871, about two years after Mark Twain developed his insights about Azorean society. The culture concept was borrowed from the German by Edward Tylor who was looking for a cross-cultural replacement for the concept of civilized.⁸ The distinction between civilized and culture that Tylor formulated allowed nineteenth century thinkers to see cultural phenomena in holistic, inclusive terms. Through a holistic interpretation of culture, social scientists in the nineteenth century could impart a unity to noncomplex ("primitive") societies and conversely institute how cultural values or moral imperatives implanted themselves in social reality. Thus, to use Morgan's typologies, societies could be barbaric, savage, or civilized, with each phase having its own cultural rationale.⁹ Worsley writes that:

Culture was a whole, a *Gestalt*, with an overall pattern. It was also the collective, cumulative achievement of humanity over and above skills transmitted through genes.¹⁰

While there was a recognition that primitive peoples did indeed possess an explanatory system that was related to material reproduction, the human cultural universe was presented as hierarchical and perceived in terms of dichotomies. Thus, as Durkheim argued, societal integration could be understood in relation to the maintenance of different types of solidarities, the most prominent being the distinction between the organic and the

⁸ A. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, *Culture*, (New York, 1963).

⁹ L. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, (New York, 1963).

¹⁰ Worsley, (1984), 45.

mechanical.¹¹ The mechanical primarily referred to the patterns of social behavior found in societies that were characteristically non-western and unaffected by developments associated with the Industrial Revolution. In these societies different aspects of social and cultural behavior complimented and reinforced each other. These societies, Lévi-Strauss maintained, resembled self-winding clocks, which were wound up with the birth of humanity and ticked away unhindered and undisturbed--as if they had achieved a sense of timeless immortality.¹² The balance between society and nature was effectively maintained as the native was at one with nature and *naturam non facit saltum* (nature does not jump).

The dialog between humans and nature under mechanical solidarity was circulatory and governed by different principles than those which dictated societal and cultural interaction in the organic order--which was by implication not harmonious, but evolutionary. Durkheim's organic societies were characterized by increasing specialization and the independence of institutional types. The common cultural thread--or in Durkheim's words the "collective consciousness"--that tied together the mechanical solidarities had been replaced by a societal type where the binding mechanism between institutional types was not visibly obvious. The organic societal form was not self-perpetuating and needed continuous energy in order to survive, a process that Lévi-Strauss said resembled a steam engine constantly in need of fresh fuel. The organic society lacked a general coherence and while evolutionary precepts ruled, the cultural dialog that had under more natural systems constituted a collective glue, was not as apparent in the linear organic form.

¹¹ Durkheim, (1964).

¹² C. Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning*, (New York, 1979).

While the idea of cultural unity was emphasized through holistic interpretative schemes, and was very popular among nineteenth century armchair evolutionists, how to define these different societal types vis-à-vis each other was problematic. In line with the mode of thought of post Industrial Europe, social scientists arranged societies in terms of hierarchical sequences, and the movement away from nature was correlated with progress. The natural orders occupied the bottom rungs of the evolutionary ladder (a paradoxical position as they were not thought to be evolving), and the increasingly "atomistic", but dynamic, societies were placed on top of the evolutionary pyramid.

How to interpret the disparate nature of cultural activity in the upper registers of the evolutionary pyramid has plagued anthropologists for more than a century. Cultural interpretation has become more difficult as the organic orders have increasingly been incorporated into the modern sphere and their previous sense of cultural unity has been lost. Paradoxically, through their attempts to move beyond an elitist definition of culture and bestow culture on peoples who were considered "uncivilized" from an elitist perspective, anthropologists found that the modern expanding world, in which most of them came from and for the most part live in, lacked cultural definition.

This view that things look more like flying apart than they do like coming together (one that I would apply to the direction of social change generally these days, not just to law), opposes, of course, some of the leading doctrines of social science.¹³

¹³ Geertz, (1983), 216.

The mythology of the culture concept is such that it is included in anthropological discourse in an attempt to create unity in an otherwise disunited and disparate world. Culture by definition in anthropology entails coherence; a distinctively human mechanism that allows for the orderly organization of information and its transmission from one generation to the other. But this definition of culture is based on a duality and is derived from the fact that there were at one time societies which had attained this natural balance between the cosmological universe and the natural order.

The Huichol Indians, in Barbera Myerhoff's classic study of shamanism and peyote, continually turn to their myths in order to find some semblance of order. Presently, the Huichol are victims of Mexican progress who live in destitution on the periphery of modernity. Their lives have been shattered by colonial contact and capitalist expansion. There has been no attempt on the part of the agents responsible for social change to reinstitute what was previously meaningful to the Huichols. To find order and meaning, the Huichol must return to their more glorious past. Thus, the Huichol fuse their precontact mythology with the artifacts of Spanish colonialism that have redirected their lives and come up with a cultural interpretation that is distinctively their own--the deer-maize-peyote complex.¹⁴

Migrants through the maintenance of an ethnic identity also attempt to bring some constancy to their lives. By identifying with a cultural past, migrants retain the cohesive framework that provides order in an otherwise fragmented symbolic universe. The cultural universe of the migrant community is, however, not static. Ideas and symbols are incorporated from the dominant culture and are given new meaning in a culturally relativistic

¹⁴ B. Myerhoff, *The Peyote Hunt*, (Ithaca, 1974).

context. The synthesis of the old and the new permits a sensible incorporation of new cultural material. Migrants when they leave their home communities experience social rejection and this exclusion prompts increased cultural isolation. The migrant straddles the fence between the mechanical and organic societies that Durkheim described. To find one's place in the organic world involves establishing a point of reference, a degree of familiarity from which to interpret the chaotic symbolic universe that capitalism has spawned. From this perspective, the maintenance of an ethnic identity is not enigmatic at all.

In a similar vein, anthropologists in an attempt to find meaning in an otherwise fragmented universe revive what in the discipline is a constant--culture. Culture acts in the anthropological community as a Bible; an ideological mechanism that without challenge explains the unexplainable. Although culture provides the anthropological community with a distinctive identity, other forces are continually at work that impinge on this identity. To understand the communities of the Huichol, the Azorean migrant, and even the anthropologist one needs to see these independent social experiences as the product of the interchange of relativistic and pluralistic symbols.

Cultural Interpretation

While a renewed focus on relativistic interpretation has gained popularity in recent years, the actual ideas of the new ethnographers have been bandied about in anthropology for years. One of the early proponents of this perspective was Marvin Harris. Harris, in a study of a Brazilian community, found traits in a rural setting that were distinctly urban; there was no correlation between demographic size and enhanced individualism as

Harris's isolated village had only 1500 inhabitants.¹⁵ Purveyors of the folk tradition that was popular when Harris conducted his research could not offer any explanation as to what was transpiring in the minds of the people who were on the heavily traveled highway between folk life and modernity.¹⁶ Harris's work clearly demonstrated that even those who did not migrate to the large developmental poles were not impervious to the onslaught of trauma (disguised as ideas and commodities) accompanying colonizers and capitalist developers.

Harris saw the encroachment of an "urban ethos" on village life as part of an exchange between dominant culture and satellite sub-cultures:

The addition of these local and sometimes subjective rural-urban contrasts to the criteria for distinguishing rural and urban societies actually strengthens the taxonomic and analytical usefulness of the dichotomy. In effect, it seems to aid us in defining that rural condition traditionally called peasantry. The peasant segments of complex socio-cultural systems, like the villages around Minas Velhas cannot be identified or compared with self-contained primitive societies, except at the risk of distorting the underlying cultural reality.¹⁷

Harris continues by describing what these peasants have become as a consequence of their participation in a complex socio-cultural system. The peasants of Minas Velhas are individualistic, cosmopolitan in outlook, and display an incredible willingness to incorporate status items that symbolize upward mobility. The development of the "urban ethos" results from the interplay of "inter-related values".¹⁸ If one moves forward thirty years one

¹⁵ Harris, (1953).

¹⁶ O. Lewis, (1966) did make a serious attempt with his "culture of poverty" construct, where notions of fatalism and despair transferred into a form of cultural unity,

¹⁷ Harris, (1953), 363-64.

¹⁸ Harris, (1953), 365.

finds this same theme reiterated in Peter Worsley's, *The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development*. Culture, writes Worsley:

is both wider and narrower than society; each group and category has its own subculture, while all societies have always incorporated and exported ideas as well as material things from stone axes to computers.¹⁹

Access to the acquisition of material cultural artifacts, however, is sometimes impeded by structural obstacles. The gates of American immigration had closed just prior to the depression in the mid 1920s, and those Azoreans who had managed to enter the United States before this time had consolidated their positions in the American dream. These migrants were already well established in the new frontier when the post-war immigration rush began. Even though these migrants were situated geographically, there was little social mobility in the United States that they could take advantage of.²⁰ The Portuguese were adept money makers, but this ability did not translate into success in the closed social corridors of American society. To achieve social recognition, Azoreans in the United States returned to the islands. The following is the story of one return migrant who returned to the island of Faial for six months in 1987.

He is one of 11 children who came from the island of Pico to Faial when he was young. He had no shoes until he was 14 and his family was extremely poor. They lived on a large landowner's land but had to turn all that was green over to the landowner (corn, vegetables, etc.). In return they received the right to graze their cows on the grass and shrubs. The rich people would not give them oranges

¹⁹ Worsley (1984), 85.

²⁰ The stereotypic image of the southern European as a person somewhat above Blacks, Chinese and East Indians but still inferior to those of North European descent was still held by many North American government officials after the second World War. See G. Anderson and D. Higgs, *A Future to Inherit*, (Toronto, 1976), 27.

from the orchards and only employed them as maids and servants. Eventually a brother who had migrated sent home money so that the family could purchase land.

Now when he returns to Faial, the old landowners have a different image of him. He has been to America and they freely offer him oranges. He has no sympathy now that they are old and sick and cannot get servants because of the shortage of labor. They see his new car and know that he has money.

As these immigrants began to incorporate the symbolic icons that denoted progress into their cultural repertoires, anthropologists were attempting to uncover the socially connected world that these immigrants or migrants had left behind. Both migrants and anthropologists were interested in finding the other, but unfortunately the two groups were traveling in opposite directions.

In anthropology, the other was articulated in what Stanley Diamond calls "the search for the primitive" and the attempt to order "chaos".²¹ The search for anthropological order involved a prolonged visit to communities which had been incorporated historically into a common economic reality but where the spatial and cultural transition was still incomplete. It was not as Marvin Harris has clearly shown, that those who existed on the periphery of capitalist expansion needed to wait until they were geographically reorientated before their cultural universe began to undergo change.²² Social change and the infusion of elements associated with modernity had begun with colonial contact when:

²¹ M. Taussig, *Colonialism, Shamanism and the Wild Man*, (Chicago, 1987).

²² M. Harris, *Minas Velhas: A Study of Urbanism in the Mountains of Eastern Brazil*, (New York, 1953).

Europe, breaking the bonds of the small self-contained feudal communities of the Middle Ages, slowly began to develop into a commercial and urban civilization. Explorers covered the earth; trade with American Indians, and the fur trade in particular, was of no small consequence.²³

The dilemma in anthropology began when these "victims" of colonial expansion began to encroach on the developed metropolises. How was the anthropologist to record and explain the activity of the disenfranchised masses who through circumstances beyond their control were thrust into the frantic world of modernity? Oscar Lewis maintained that many of the traditional elements of the rural order were brought *carte blanche* to the urban context.²⁴ But Lewis's construct cannot adequately explain the varieties of responses and the creativeness with which migrants deal with life in the urban milieu.²⁵

According to James Scott, who conducted field research on peasants in Malaysia, the inability of nonwestern peoples to "adapt" can be perceived as a form of social protest.²⁶ Work slowdowns, feigned illness and the inability to grasp simple concepts are mechanisms that subservient classes can use to reduce exploitation. Thus, how one interprets this behavior depends on the perspective employed. The peasant can be viewed as a fatalist, who is unwilling to abandon tradition to embrace modernity. Or the peasant can be seen as using cultural forms to reduce the possibility of exploitation. In the latter case, the peasant depends on the cultural stupidity of the exploiter.

²³ E. Leacock, "Introduction", *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, F. Engels, (1981), 36.

²⁴ Lewis, *La Vida*, (New York, 1966).

²⁵ L. Lomnitz, *Networks and Marginality*, (1977), J. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality*, (1976).

²⁶ J. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, (New Haven, 1985).

Stereotypes that stigmatize the peasant or immigrant can be used by those in the exploited classes to their advantage if they so choose. Many Marxists, as Scott argues, are reluctant to sacrifice their radical views on what constitutes class action to reach an understanding as to what is really going on in relation to cultural action in the Third World.²⁷

In conventional Marxism, the problem of culture is, for the most part, not seriously entertained and is overshadowed by an analytic focus on class relations. Migrants or the "new proletarians" are mystified as their exploitation is concealed through commodity fetishism--a diabolic process that prevented them as exploited elements within the capitalist system from attaining revolutionary consciousness. But Marx did not accurately envision the world that would emerge through continuous capitalist expansion. The participation of the masses, according to Marxist orthodoxy, in capitalist culture was thought of as an obstacle to the development of revolutionary consciousness. Marx's opinions about the lack of revolutionary potential of the peasantry, and what he referred to as the lumpenproletariat--a class of "vagabonds", and "pickpockets", are well known.²⁸ But these classes who were the subject of Marx's scorn for their inability to develop a form of consciousness that would facilitate their participation in the class struggle, are the primary subjects of anthropological research.

What were anthropologists to make of natives who willingly and systematically incorporated new ideas and objects into their symbolic universe? Many anthropologists simply ignored the changes "their people" were undergoing and attempted to retain the spirit of the "primitive" in their

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Worsley, (1984), 186.

ethnographic writings.²⁹ An early exception was Peter Worsley who, in *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, demarcated the interaction between the Christian ideology of the colonizers and the local cosmology of Melanesian natives and how the appearance of cargo cults in dispersed geographical regions were a reaction to the same process of cultural and economic intrusion.³⁰ Prior to Worsley's book, anthropologists searched diligently for a common pattern to the universal emergence of the cargo cults in areas that were geographically unconnected; these researchers must have considered every conceivable explanation except the reality that their "primitive" peoples were responding to global processes. Unfortunately, the anthropological community did not pick up on Worsley's lead and his monograph is even today not only current, but probably still a little ahead of its time.³¹

Peter Worsley has remarked that there are more people alive today than who have ever lived. The majority of the world's inhabitants do not belong to the class of fulltime proletarians that Marx designated as the revolutionary class that would overthrow capitalism, but belong to the categories of the disenfranchised and the dispossessed; those who, Marx argued, could never achieve revolutionary consciousness. But while a majority of the world's population because of class disparities are not able to enjoy the fruits of capitalist excess, they nevertheless readily borrow symbols from the dominant ideological forces and devise their own unique forms of cultural expression.

²⁹ See S. Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive*, (New York, 1971) for a critical discussion of the anthropological obsession with the primitive.

³⁰ Peter Worsley *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, (London, 1957).

³¹ Marvin Harris (1953), as we have seen was another anthropologist who focused on the interaction between a larger cultural reality and local interpretation, but Harris did not pursue this topic in later writings.

In the modern global village, consumerism is beamed night and day into the homes of even the poorest, who may still lack direct water and electricity supplies but who all have transistors, and many, T.V. sets ³²

The world's people have become incredibly acquisitive, and as Worsley states those acquiring items that signify increased status can be found among the world's poor as well as the rich. Paradoxically, even Soviet citizens whose ideological system does not presuppose them to the narcotic addiction of consumerism, quite willingly purchase the commodities that from their ideological reference signify the decadence and individualism that contribute to societal decay. The reluctance of anthropologists to recognize this social reality may stem from the enduring fascination that anthropology has had with the primitive. It is not simply a case of preserving one's field research and the cultural purity of the people being studied, these studies are used many times by the anthropologist to illustrate the negative aspects of western society. Native culture is invoked as an ideal and the "cultural other becomes chauvinistically valued to the point of unrelenting pessimism about the conditions of American society in comparison."³³ The experiences in the "field" are perceived to be unique and it is not recognized that the simple peasant is just as enamored with computer technology and color television sets as is the anthropologist. Marcus and Fisher argue that the new direction in cultural critique should acknowledge this global experience and juxtapose the interplay between cultural systems rather than study them as independent experiences.³⁴

³² Worsley, (1984), 229.

³³ Marcus and Fisher, (1986), 161.

³⁴ Ibid.

Marcus and Fisher's revival of culturalism, however, negates another anthropological reality--the concern with social structure and social organization. They write that "much repatriated anthropology predictably deals with traditional anthropological subjects: kinship, migrants, ethnic communities, public rituals, religious cults, countercultural communities."³⁵ These rather predictable and mundane anthropological concerns should be replaced by a dynamic culturology that truly represents the experiences of people in the modern world. The problem with this orientation is that while there is what might be generally referred to as a global cultural form that relies on consumerist energy for definition, the social units in which much of the world's population lives still revolve around notions of kinship, ethnicity and the expression of community ritual. To simply replace one form of analysis with another--in this case the substitution of cultural for social--removes the context through which localized cultural expression is realized. People do not abandon religious life and public ritual just because they participate in mass culture. Nor, as Lomnitz has demonstrated, do urban migrants forget about the importance of kin affiliations; in fact, they actively establish "fictive" connections that are creative elaborations of those based on affinity and consanguinity.³⁶

In two recent studies, June Nash and Michael Taussig examine how South American plantation workers and miners incorporate western symbols and icons in a way that represents their collective experience with capitalist expansion.³⁷ The devil in proletarianized South America is a motif that

³⁵ Ibid.,153.

³⁶ Lomnitz, (1977).

³⁷ J. Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us*, (New York, 1979); M. Taussig *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. (Chapel Hill,1980).

becomes a caricature of all the icons that are representative of Western culture.

The spirit [or the devil] can also appear as an apparition: a blond, bearded, red-faced gringo (foreigner) wearing a cowboy hat, resembling the technicians and the administrators who control the tens of thousands of miners who excavate the tin that has made Bolivia a satellite of the world commodity market ³⁸.

The Bolivian tin miner's interpretation of capitalism is based on a socio-economic reality that promotes social awareness. This social awareness is best understood in relation to what Marxists refer to as consciousness. Consciousness is a term commonly used to mean enlightened, or to refer to someone who has transcended the ideological facade and is aware of the exploitative nature of the system under which he or she lives. Taussig writes that:

In the Bolivian tin mines and in the plantation fields of Cauca Valley this fiction is understood as a disturbingly dangerous and unnatural state of affairs and is credited to no less a figure than the devil, whereas to those of us who live in a well developed capitalist culture this cultural convention has now become part of the state of nature.³⁹

The transitional phase between a fictional perception of capitalist relations, which is intensified as the individual's labor input is compensated through commodity acquisition, and the realization of consciousness where the individual becomes cognizant of the exploitive nature of labor relations, can be reduced to how well one is compensated for one's labor--and if one's wages are sufficient to purchase the cultural artifacts that denote success and

³⁸ Taussig, (1980), 143.

³⁹ Taussig, (1980),30.

enhance status in accordance with the prevalent ideological symbols of the time. Ideology is in this sense the ultimate fiction in that its true adherents are those who experience the greater success.

Within the broader spectrum of cognitions that comprise a culture, certain attitudes, values and beliefs morally justify existing, socioeconomic, political and gender relations. As such, they contribute to perpetuating a given social organization. Those aspects of culture that perform this function are what we refer to as a "dominant culture".⁴⁰

Almost all societies throughout the world are defined through the common experience that their local cultural universes have irrevocably been altered as a result of capitalist expansion. Through the industrial revolution certain regions in the world developed at the expense of others. Just as the factors of industrial growth and colonial expansion are linked through this collective history, a cultural universe of world symbols has also connected the dominant culture of capitalist enterprise and local cultural interpretation. These universal subcultures readily appropriate the symbols and value systems of the dominant culture; but the willingness to borrow ideas, values and symbols does not necessarily mean that there is a *carte blanche* acceptance of the total social universe that the culture of capitalism projects.

The ideology of capitalism is, however, a culture of acquisition. It is a culture that inspires participation though the acquisition of symbols and in this way it has perhaps most profoundly altered the world's subcultures. Migrants who move to the industrial regions or the heartland of capitalist enterprise are subjected to the culture of capitalism on a daily basis. It is the anticipation of acquisition that provides the rationale for migrants to engage

⁴⁰ C. Wood and J. Carvalho, *The Demography of Inequality*, (Cambridge, 1988), 44.

in the inequitable sale of their labor. This anticipation stretches back to the sending communities where the migrant has become a cultural hero whose success in the outside world provides a role model for future generations of migrants.⁴¹

In the following section I examine the origins of what can be referred to as the migrant syndrome in the Azores. To understand the processes that compel the migrant to leave the sending community one can cite various economic factors. The processes that motivate the migrant to return are however more difficult to explain. In the essay above I noted that an early anthropological interpretation of culture was based on a dualistic notion of societal life. On the one hand the maintenance of this duality is an important component of capitalist enterprise as it provides a criteria for exclusion. On the other hand this duality is undermined through the economic incorporation of those who are excluded through the imposition of social and cultural criteria. The cultural resolution of this simultaneous process of seclusion and incorporation creates a frustrating and confusing situation for the migrant. Drawn to the larger world for economic reasons, the migrant must return to the sending society for social definition.

But what sort of social definition can possibly exist in a society that has since its inception been a part of the process of capitalist expansion? A salient feature of the hierarchical structure that embodies Catholicism is its social rigidity. For the Azorean migrant to return to a society that is ideologically opposed to social mobility, the traditional world of Catholicism had to have been transformed to accommodate the aspirations of those who have been

⁴¹ See C. Brettell, "Emigrar Para Voltar: A Portuguese Ideology of Return Migration," *The Anthropology of Return Migration* R. Rhodes (ed) *Papers in Anthropology*, (1979).

rejected by the social obstacles of capitalist enterprise--the vehicle that created these aspirations to begin with. On the Azores the social structuring of the old order has been challenged almost from the time of the settlement of the islands. While capitalist enterprise provided the incentive and the arena for economic participation, the rewards of this participation were based on privileged rights and access to exclusive resources. Once the parameters of the global economic system were established, these exclusive rights became extremely concentrated in certain regions.

The Genesis of a Migrant Culture

To a large extent, Azorean history has followed a cyclical course. Many of the descendents of the original settlers have left the Azores to either work or live in the New World. Through the centuries many migrants have returned to the islands and with their "earned" wealth have purchased land and businesses. Successful migrants have historically returned to Portugal and invested their money in land, many times displacing the old landed class. Azoreans find security in the ownership of land, and much of their efforts are directed at acquiring what for them is a stable resource. Land was what the migrant aspired for, as its acquisition provided not only security but was a definitive symbol that ones journey had been successful.

The ownership of land was an important symbol of status under feudalism. Even though merchant capital in Europe was gaining in importance as feudal relations declined, social status was still based on the ownership of land.

By the eighteenth century international trade, from the individual participant's point of view, was a tightly organized cultural construct with rules as strict and outcome as clearly defined as in the game of chess. One either played to win or else one did not play. What one did with one's earnings was another matter. One was perfectly free to continue plowing them back into into trading ventures, but in actuality no one in La Rochelle or elsewhere did this indefinitely. Sooner or later most successful merchant families began investing in land.⁴²

Under feudal tenure, however, land as a resource was finite. Access to land was determined through hereditary rights and feudal lords controlled large expanses of land. With the advent of merchant capital as an important economic force and the increased circulation of cash crops, the system of land as the exclusive property of a few was disrupted. Because the wealth of the old order was usually associated with the prevalent cash crop of the time, their fortunes were based on the rise and decline of these commodities. On the Azores, it was initially merchants who acquired land and sought social affiliation through the old system of social definition. But in times of economic crisis on the islands even the merchants' fortunes were subjected to the vagaries of the boom/bust economy. During these crisis periods in the local economy, Azoreans left the islands to labor in other productive regions. In this sense, those who did not migrate were more vulnerable to the exigencies and fluctuations of the market economy. Migrant money, turned into capital on the islands, provided a mechanism for social mobility.

But even if one improves one's economic situation through migration, economic success does not necessarily translate into social acceptability or the expected change in status. A migrant might do well financially, but others, particularly the old order, might not recognize or

⁴² W. Reddy, *Money and Liberty in Modern Europe*, (Cambridge, 1987), 37-38.

legitimize this as a change in status. Raymond Firth has described the above dilemma in terms of *de jure* and *de facto* rules.⁴³ In combination with *de jure* societal rules there is always a *de facto* reality. The system of feudal tenure that was installed in the Azores was abused from the start. The *senhorial* system was based on primogenitor inheritance and the maintenance of a patrilineal lineage, but fortunes were lost as a result of economic decline and migrant capital came home to help reinforce an ailing economy. Because of the boom/bust cycles, there have always been opportunities for capital investment in the Azores, and historically much of the capital that helped fill this void was gained through migration. Wallerstein writes that:

Although the ideological facades of an earlier world still reigned throughout the European world-economy, more and more groups tended to act primarily and ultimately in the manner of bourgeois and proletarians pursuing their interests and defending their stakes in a capitalist system.⁴⁴

Up until the late eighteenth century the political structure on the Azores was governed by the *morgado* or *senhorial* system, but the actual forces that dictated Azorean cultural history resulted from the socio-economic interplay of disparate groups of small producers, merchants, state representatives and international capitalists.

In Portugal, the term *Brasileiro* after the nineteenth century came to refer to "a native born Portuguese who emigrates to Brazil, makes it rich, and then returns to Portugal to display his wealth."⁴⁵ *Brasileiros* were not individual migrants who periodically returned home to show off their new

⁴³ R. Firth, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, (Wellington, 1959)

⁴⁴ Wallerstein, (1980).

⁴⁵ C. Brettell, (1979), 2.

found fortunes, but embodied a whole way of life. A society in which migration has become a way of life could be expected to mythologize the migrant experience. Each peasant family, writes Brettell, "was thought to produce at least one *Brasileiro*."⁴⁶

The *Brasileiro* image, however, became less popular in Portugal as opportunities for migration to Brazil declined in the late nineteenth century. In an article in the *Comércio de Portugal*, the typical migrant to Brazil was described as lacking in good instincts, not being industrious in studies and work and largely devoted to a life of pleasure. Conversely, the migrant to the United States was depicted as having a high application for work, intelligent and a patriot who was proud to have worked in America.⁴⁷ While the public image of the migrant who went to Brazil underwent a change in the nineteenth century, the migrant as a role model did not disappear from Portuguese society. The change in the immigrant image does, however, parallel a shift in migration patterns. In the late nineteenth century as migration to Brazil decline, many Portuguese were emigrating to the United States.

Brettell argues that the *Brasileiro* serves as a role model for contemporary migrants in that it fuses all the disparate elements of the migrant experience. Migration is thus simultaneously perceived as an illusion through which one can acquire a quick fortune and then return home to display one's wealth. Migration to the Portuguese then is not a unidirectional process, whereby emigrants pack up and leave their ancestral villages for good. The migrational experience is conceptualized in its entirety

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Cited in Walker, (1882).

as both leaving and returning.⁴⁸ If there is one striking feature that characterizes Portuguese migration in general it is this maintenance of a return ideology. Despite the omnipresent poverty in the home village and the socio-economic conditions that drive the migrant to leave, there is still this drive to return. But just as there is this strong desire to return, there is an equally strong impulse to leave.

Below I review briefly the individual motivation behind these two contradictory impulses; even though the larger explanation for outmigration may be related to structural factors, the migrants themselves still need to negotiate their way from the islands to the host communities. How Azoreans perceive the migration process is in itself an important facet of culture building on the islands. In one way symbols are drawn from larger ideological universe and in another way these symbols are rearranged and renegotiated in relation to personal and societal experience. The end result of this cumulative process is a cultural expression that is both derived from the migrant experience and the product of local cultural forms.

Immigrants or Migrants?

In the migration literature, looking at individual motives in explaining the root causes of population movement is a very popular approach. In relation to the migrations from southern Europe to the Americas, this type of a perspective is reinforced as the Europeans are not categorized as temporaries or seen as a transient labor force. The southern Europeans, unlike their non-Caucasian counterparts who flee economic uncertainty and exploitation in the "Third World", are quite often referred to

⁴⁸ Ibid.

as "immigrants" rather than migrants and this category bestows a legality to their migratory journey--a journey that when one considers the end result could only have been undertaken for personal gain. Migrants from southern Europe, even though many might have arrived through illegal means, have a legitimacy, an official status, that is denied the average migrant from Latin America.

The symbolic overtures that have historically greeted these new immigrants on their arrival in the United States or Canada can be overwhelming. The Statue of Liberty, the formalization of immigration papers at Ellis Island, New York, and the entry into a community that consists of a previous generation of immigrants who have realized their version of the American dream, are reaffirming gestures for the immigrant that he/she too will succeed in this land of infinite opportunity.

The Azorean immigrant in particular has a special affinity with America. When the first wave of Azorean migration was brought to an abrupt halt with the institution of quota laws in the 1920's, the Azorean immigrant's connection with family members on the islands was kept alive through remittances. The Azorean peasant thus benefitted from the labor of his/her kindred in America. Three decades later when the immigration gates opened once more, the special feeling for America was solidified when John F. Kennedy, then senator to Massachusetts, campaigned to increase disaster aid to the Azores following the volcanic submarine eruption off the coast of Faial in 1957. Today, it is not uncommon to see the American flag flying prominently outside of the homes of return migrants. In many ways, then, it is as Jerry Williams argues: that the stimulus for migration was as much the pull factor of America as it was the push factor from a traditional society

"with little in the way of opportunity to offer the young inhabitants."⁴⁹ America is perceived as the land of opportunity where one's dreams can be realized. It is no wonder then that symbols that represent American culture in its idealized form are appropriated and brought home to the islands.

While the harshness of the immigrant experience was symbolically obscured by promises of social justice and egalitarianism, the conditions under which the "new arrivals" from southern Europe lived under in the United States could hardly be described as ideal. In the nineteenth century the new immigrants, who were considered white but not quite as white as others, experienced prejudice, economic hardship and confusion about who they as people were.

What had cut short the continuous past, severed it from the unrelated present. Immigration had transformed the entire economic world in which the peasants had formerly lived. From surface forms to inmost functionings, the change was complete. A new setting, new activities, and new meanings forced the newcomers into radically new roles as producers and consumers of goods. In the process, they became in their eyes, less worthy as men.⁵⁰

That the "American dream" and the American immigrant reality were two distinct universes must have been understood by those who set out on their quest for a better life. The voyage from southern Europe to the United States is inevitably expressed in terms of a journey from tradition to modernity, but the fact that this journey was partially complete before it ever began is obscured by the focus on the omnificent lure of the world of "bright lights". Manuel Pereira describes the final leg of his emigrant journey from

⁴⁹ J. Williams, *And Yet They Come*, (Rhode Island, 1982), 1.

⁵⁰ O. Handlin, *The Uprooted*, (Boston, 1973), 84.

the Azores to the United States as follows: "we entered the bay of 'Betefete' of our dreams. The city of New Bedford was already florescent."⁵¹

Rolando Gonçalves examines some of the catalysts that cultivate this vision of America as an ideal society. In the village of Ribeira Quente, on the island of São Miguel, the young people are disillusioned with the prospects of life in the village. The *jovens* view fishing, the economic mainstay in which 45.3 % of the active population of the village works, as a dangerous occupation that involves a lot of work for little money. Only 18.8% of the male youth surveyed chose fishing as a preferred occupation, while 37.5% responded that they would prefer to be professional football players. Many of the youth of Ribeira Quente would like to emigrate and they have developed a romantic perception of life (*eutopia*) away from the Azores which is reinforced by letters and return visits of migrants. Fishing as an occupation is not highly regarded in the Azores and the young people of Ribeira Quente may be attempting to escape following their parents into an occupational type where the compensation does not equal the risks and the work.⁵²

While many Azoreans migrate for economic reasons, the individual is many times likely to cite other factors for leaving the islands. In a survey of 6,911 return migrants, conducted by the *Direcção De Serviços De Emigração*, the majority of the returnees stated that the reason that they emigrated was to be together with their family.

⁵¹ Pereira, (1964), 485.

⁵² Gonçalves, R.1986 "Eutopia e Emigração, Arquipélago, (1986), Vol. VIII.

Table 9. 1

Migrant Motives for Migration*

Motives	Number	%
To Accompany or Join Family	3,932	66.28
To Complete a Labor Contract	171	2.88
Economic Reasons	1,403	23.65
Adventure	94	1.58
Other Reasons	369	6.22

Source: Secretaria Regional Dos Assuntos Socais, 1982, Direção De Serviços De Emigração

* 979 of those surveyed had been born abroad

There are a number of factors that may have promoted the above responses. Foremost, the simplest way for an Azorean to immigrate is to utilize family connections. In the case of Canada, a country that attracts many Azorean immigrants, it was until 1973 relatively easy to visit family members who had emigrated and once in the country apply for Landed Immigrant status.⁵³ Subsequently, the migrant may attribute the motives for immigration to a variety of causes that have little relation to the underlying economic currents that promoted the migrant to immigrate. Lozano explains that:

the structural forces encouraging migration may have developed and converged over a long historical period extending back to a time inaccessible to the migrants' memories or awareness. In this case, individuals are likely to explain their movements in terms of highly varied private factors that bear no obvious relationship to the structural context in which the theorist locates the migration.⁵⁴

⁵³ G. Anderson and D. Higgs, *A Future to Inherit*, (Toronto, 1976) 49.

⁵⁴ B. Lozano, "The Andalusia-Hawaii-California Migration: A Study in Macrostructure and Microhistory," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, (1984), Vol. 26, No. 2, 308.

That many returnees would cite family reasons for emigrating is not that unusual; the emotional reunion itself would be a highpoint for the migrant and it would be this aspect of the journey that the individual would focus on. Another curious response is immigrating for the spirit of adventure. On more than one occasion, I was told by migrants that they went to Canada on tourist visas and once there they decided they liked it and stayed. At first I suspected that these responses may be attempts to disguise illegal migration, but I later discovered that it was common for Azoreans in the 1960s to visit Canada with tourist visas and then stay. Canadian immigration law at that time allowed prospective immigrants to apply for permanent status from within the country. The migrant journey was conceptualized in retrospect by the migrant as a vacation that turned into employment.

In the 1950s, for the Azorean migrant this many times involved leaving the island of origin for the first time to go to Ponta Delgada for an interview and medical examination at the consular office. Preparing for the interview was an adventure in itself, as the potential migrant needed to ensure that he would physically fit the qualifications that the immigration officer was looking for. Manual labor was what the Azoreans were recruited for so the applicants were expected to have calloused hands. Almeida writes that some Azoreans spent hours working with a hammer to harden their palms so they applicant could qualify as a bonafide workers.⁵⁵ After receiving the visa, the migrant would frequently return home to prepare for the

⁵⁵ C. Almeida. "Source of Immigration to the Americas," *Portuguese Immigrants: The Centennial Story of the Portuguese*, (San Leandro, 1978).

journey to a new job and a new community. Sometimes they did not even make it as far as America.

João recounts that the first time he attempted to immigrate, he only got as far as Terciera where he spent all his money and had to return to Faial. João's brother had sent the money from the United States for the initial trip. The second try was financed by his sister who put João on the boat herself. João came from a poor family and did not even own a pair of shoes until he was fourteen (personal notes).

While economic circumstances contributed to João's decision to leave Faial, the experiences that he had after his arrival in California were what he remembered most vividly. To most of the return migrants who I talked to, the alien culture that they came into contact with in North America left a lasting impression in their memories. In many ways migrants are like anthropologists; they venture out to explore a new world for a specific reason but when they describe the actual encounter with the new culture the true reason for the journey is sometimes lost in the excitement of relating the personalized experience.

Azorean migration is also frequently related to an environmental situation. This type of an explanatory framework is most often invoked by state representatives and creative writers. For the poet and the author, the thematic union between people leaving for foreign locales and volcanic outbursts is too tantalizing a literary vehicle to reject. Luís Ribeiro, an Azorean writer, explains that the Azorean

doesn't emigrate, oftentimes, due to necessity. There are many examples of emigrants who in their land of birth have achieved a comfortable, normal situation. They emigrate by force of a natural tendency, that at times constitutes a veritable obsession....The movement of the sea perhaps is responsible for the fascination that it holds for the continents, like Vitorino Nemésio noted, and the distant lands. The Azorean left his island with extreme ease and went to find work in faraway countries, with a confidence in himself and his good star that is a wonder.⁵⁶

Migration throughout Portuguese history, as Rebeiro writes, has become almost a vocation in itself. That the Azorean would leave the islands for the spirit of adventure, or at least describe it in those terms, is not that farfetched of an idea. Anthropologists have an insatiable appetite for travel yet the majority of them would never describe their experiences in a foreign culture as having been undertaken for solely economic gain. The migrant rationale for emigrating is thus embedded in a myriad of explanations that are related to family, fantasy and prospects of a new life. These local explanations are in themselves an integral part of the cultural process of migration and should not simply be dismissed because they lack theoretical definition.

Culture, as Clifford Geertz points out, does not exist inside of the head of the individual but is part of the public domain.⁵⁷ The public domain for the Azorean includes both the sending society and the ethnic enclave. It is the union of the symbols from these two distinctive spheres of interaction that defines Azorean cultural interpretation. In this sense when the migration direction shifted from Brazil, from the old way of life of colonial

⁵⁶ Cited in Serpa (1978).

⁵⁷ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973).

empire, to North America and the new economic frontier, the domain of cultural reference also changed.

Up until recently migrants would return to the islands and buy land, but land as a symbol of migrant success has lost its local meaning. Outmigration has created a surplus of land and many migrant today return to sell parcels of inherited land rather than purchase more. Migrants return to the islands these days with consumer good purchased during their stay in North America. The goods are clothes, furniture, electronic items and cars. On the island of Pico, they build large homes to house these items. These goods which serve as status symbols for the migrant who has completed the initiation ceremony of outmigration provide inspiration for a future generation of migrants who too define their future in terms of the rite of immigration. Through migrant remittances the islanders have already had a taste of that future. Migrants remitted money that supported the peasant economy, but they also sent back clothes and other goods. Waiting for the ship from America and collecting packages sent back by family members became a way of life for many of the islanders. The culture of capitalism is thus brought back to the islands and the symbols of capitalist enterprise are incorporated into the local cultural universe. America came to be regarded as a utopia where the cultural prerequisites of the immigrant quest could be worked out.

Once the immigrants arrive in America, however, they face a harsher reality—a reality that conflicts with the idealized vision they have of the American dream. In the United States first generation immigrants lived in ethnic communities where they were physically and socially isolated from the American mainstream. This is not to say that the Portuguese community was unaffected by American society. The children of Azorean immigrants

went to English speaking schools and adopted many of the norms and values of American society.⁵⁸ Even though the Azorean community has been acculturated, social and cultural divisions still persist between Portuguese and other Americans.

Williams relates Portuguese cultural persistence to a number of factors. The most important of these perhaps is that the Portuguese have historically immigrated to the same communities in North America and "that traditional Portuguese values were constantly reinforced by the arrival of new immigrants."⁵⁹ Another important element in the Portuguese community is the Catholic church. "In the midst of all the turmoil and uncertainty, however, the church stood constant and unchanging and provided a welcome sense of security."⁶⁰ Another factor which may be added to Williams's list is the presence of class barriers that effectively block the immigrant's full assimilation into the American mainstream.

Azorean migrants who arrived in North America from 1870 to 1924 and their counterparts who arrived after the second world war came to work as manual laborers. If one considers the circumstances under which they worked and lived it is not unusual that Azoreans would have retained such a strong ethnic identity. Arriving in the United States, unable to converse in English and depending on fellow Portuguese for jobs and other basic connections the newly arrived immigrant sought social solidarity in the ethnic community. Perhaps, as Oscar Lewis argued, the perpetuation of these traditional ties impeded the assimilation into the larger sphere.⁶¹ The

⁵⁸ Williams, (1982), 93.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 86

⁶¹ Lewis, (1966).

maintenance of a social and cultural universe that was distinct in terms of language and custom in all probability did have some impact on how social networks were defined and how interpersonal relationships were viewed. But the causal vehicle for the retention of this ethnic universe, however, must be sought out through other explanatory means.

It was the process of capitalist expansion that drew the islanders to North America and it was another dimension of capitalist enterprise that set the islanders apart from other Americans. As Eric Wolf writes:

Segments of the labor market--and the workers answering to the demands generated in these various segments--thus come to be ranked hierarchically with respect to one another, with a 'labor aristocracy' garnering higher rewards in income and prestige at the top, and with workers receiving low wages in unstable employment at the bottom.⁶²

The hierarchy of labor values thus created a hierarchy of social values as labor was recruited for specific needs. Azoreans went to New Bedford and the surrounding cities to work in factories and the work context defined and limited their social interaction. Wages were used to purchase commodities that were used within the ethnic sphere and in the sending community as symbolic statements of the successful completion of the migrant journey.

The attainment of status through commodity acquisition in one sense divided the Azorean community and in another sense reinforced it. There is local resentment against migrants who return home and flagrantly display their new found wealth. The division, however, between migrants and non-migrants is an artificial one as it neither manifests itself in hostility or creates social boundaries within the ethnic community. While the return migrants

⁶² Wolf, (1982), 357.

flaunt their acquired possessions they also devote considerable energy to ensure that they are integrated back into the social life of the islands. The vehicle that ensures this reintegration is the public ritual. In the next chapter I turn to an examination of how the acquisition of wealth is de-emphasized through ritual participation.

Before moving on to the next chapter I would briefly like to provide a social illustration that serves as a cultural metaphor on the islands. The theme of the illustration is related to migration and how through leaving the islands migrants develop an awareness of the obstacles that prevent their social ascendancy in capitalist enterprise. The islander's interpretation of the hierarchical relationships that define both the world of Catholicism and capitalist enterprise is an inversion of the real relationships that limit the islanders socio-economic universe. The Azorean card game provides a means to explain how low status might be symbolically converted to high status in the Azores.

Azorean Cards

When Azorean men gather for festive occasions they frequently play cards. In recent years with increased employment on the islands and the loss of people through outmigration the card games are played less regularly. One social context in which the card game is still played is the *matança do porco* (the killing of the pig which I discuss in more detail in the Appendix).

The card game is a welcome social diversion for Azorean men during the *matança do porco*. It is a favorite pastime and the men play exuberantly and passionately. On one such occasion we asked some of the older people present about life under Salazar. An old man explained that the card games were a pleasant way to wile away the evenings during the Salazar era. He

talked about how there was no outlet for political expression or intellectual development during the Salazar era. There was little opportunity for education and the islanders were not allowed to engage in political discussion. To exercise their brains, he said, the islanders played cards. The islanders during the Salazar period became very adept at playing cards, and this expertise is still respected today. The older islanders who were present smiled as they recounted all the great players they had known.

The cards that the islanders play with are the standard deck used in card games throughout the western world. In most games in the west there are accepted high cards and low cards with the face cards having a special significance and usually higher value. The most popular Azorean card game resembles the American game of whist where four players, either singly or in partnerships, attempt to accumulate points through winning tricks. In the North American version, the highest card in a particular suit takes the trick. The islanders have, however, created an interesting variant to what constitutes a high and a low card. In the Azorean version, a ten takes any face card and both the jack and the king take the queen. The type of card game that the Azoreans usually play during the *matança* appears to aptly symbolize the cultural universe that has grown out of islander's migratory heritage.

How does one explain a game that so symbolically mirrors the material reality of a people? Did the islanders consciously construct a game for the intended purpose of explaining their socio-economic situation? Is the game a subliminal event, emanating from the subconscious and manifesting itself in the real world in an uncanny way? Or is the game merely a coincidence? There is no good answer to any of these questions. One could though read much into this card game. For example, the patriarchal structure of Catholic society is represented in the game through the inversion of the jack and the

queen. And the ten could be interpreted as the migrant who displaced the landed gentry through hard work in the new frontiers that were opened as a result of colonial expansion.

In real life there are also high cards and low cards; there are those who have, as Melville put it, brains and there are those who supply the muscle. It does not take a genius to make this distinction. Sometimes the upper echelons, those with faces, develop a certain opinion of the muscle beneath them. And many times, the muscle is more than happy to reinforce this attitude through their behavior. The Azorean card game can thus be seen as localized cultural reappraisal of the social existence that dominates their lives.

In the next chapter, I examine the conflict between the desire for social mobility in the migrant context and the maintenance of egalitarian relations on the community level. Eric Gans has related the practise of ritual in the Judeo-Christian tradition as a necessary social form through which conflict is reduced.⁶³ On the Azores, ritual action does serve this purpose but besides alleviating conflict through wealth distribution, the ritual provides a forum for community integration and the revitalization of an egalitarian identity.

⁶³ E. Gans, *The End of Culture*, (Berkeley, 1985).

THE ESPIRITO SANTO AND COMMUNITY SOLIDARITY

Samir Amin writes that in tributary societies generally the social universe is divided into two discreet categories. There is an elite class composed of nobles and priests and a common class. The former group practises "morality" and has "metaphysical wisdom" while the latter suffers with a "weakened version of social morality."¹ With the decline of tributary power in Portugal this static societal vision underwent certain changes. Because of increased economic opportunity in Portugal and on the Atlantic islands, status advancement, which had under tributary relations been highly restricted, was now possible. Sidney Greenfield writes about the settlement of Madeira in the following manner:

Instead, I would maintain, the most likely motivation for their volunteering is a strong desire for social mobility. In the context of early fifteenth-century Portuguese society this is to say they aspired to noble status...it may be assumed that from the beginning they dreamed of a life in which their material needs would be provided and they could devote themselves to worthy causes other than mundane physical labor.²

While the islanders sought to enhance their social identities through the acquisition of land and other commodities, the actual process of culture

¹ Amin, (1989), 66.

² Greenfield, (1977), 540.

building on the islands can be best understood through an examination of ritual behavior. The following discussion focuses on the Azorean ritual of the *Espírito Santo*. I examine the *feira do Espírito Santo* in two contexts. First, I discuss the historical development of the ritual and how the *feira do Espírito Santo* functions as a temporal mechanism for community integration. The second context, which is diachronically related to the first, discusses how the maintenance of the ritual in Azorean migrant communities abroad has changed the character of the ritual on the islands. The *Espírito Santo* as a public ritual represents the tensions that exist in a society where the labor force has historically participated in capitalist enterprise yet has had to return to the islands to define their social identity.

I maintain that the variables and events associated with the ritualized enactment of the *Espírito Santo* are social constructs. But the ritualized rationalization of asserting a self-worth in a social universe in which socioeconomic status is denied them, is couched in a strong material reality. In order for a ritual to have retained its distinctive egalitarian emphasis for over five hundred years in a societal context that is characterized by stratified religious and social relations, the maintenance of the ritual must have some utilitarian value. While on a cultural level, the *feira do povo* (festival of the people) provides a vehicle for meaning to people who have little opportunity to otherwise assert their status identities, in a material sense it functions as a mechanism through which resources are distributed. In the anthropological literature, a ritual such as the *Espírito Santo* is referred to as a levelling mechanism through which the resources of the more affluent filter down to the less fortunate. All of the above factors help to explain why the *Espírito Santo* has retained its specific flavor as a *feira do povo*.

The *Espírito Santo* has developed in the Azores in relation to the structured religious tenets of Catholicism on one hand and the free wheeling ideological dictates of capitalist enterprise on the other. The retention of the ritual, and the specific character that it developed in the Azorean community, can be seen as part of a interactive process where a spirit of egalitarianism cultivated by increased economic opportunity continually comes into conflict with an ideological system that attempts to curtail individual interpretation.

An Egalitarian Identity

In Chapter 5, I briefly mentioned a shepherd myth that some Azoreans recount when they talk about the colonization of the islands. For Azoreans, the shepherd tale provides an origin mythology and serves to emphasize that the islands were uninhabited at the time of original settlement. An interesting example that underscores this "identity formulating process", or the attempt to obscure the hard reality of colonization in mythology, and symbolically reinforce the emergence of a new way of life, is that of Madeira where the first children born on the island were named "Adam and Eve".³ The shepherd myth also reflects another salient aspect of Azorean island life. Many Azoreans conceptualize the world in terms of here and there. The outside world is viewed in terms of a necessary hardship that is endured only so one may eventually return to the islands and enjoy what one has labored so hard for. The myth thus imposes a sense of naturalness, of solitude, as if their place in the social universe can only be reaffirmed by stressing the insularity of their existence. The animals, the land, being alone with the elements, represents a natural existence that is in opposition to the chaotic

³ Boxer, (1969).

and acutely stratified world that they encounter when they migrate. The Azorean engagement with the labor process is direct—the job needs to get done so one can return home. Thus their efforts at hard labor have inspired outsiders to write about them as some sort of mindless proletariat who are totally content to wile away their days working in low status occupations.

To find their self-esteem in the midst of these derogatory characterizations, Azorean migrants, while consciously promoting their "work ethic" abroad, define their social existence on the islands in egalitarian terms. The revitalization of an origin mythology that reaffirms their "real" social identity, is not that unusual for "all myths...have their grounding in the actual generalized experience of ancient peoples, and represent their attempts to impose a satisfactory, graspable, humanizing shape on it."⁴

The shape that humans choose to confer on a world and the material prerequisites of engaging with that world are not mutually reinforcing.

'The people know that their rights should not be at the mercy of rulers, but that they are imminent in Nature, inalienable and sacred.'...'God gave the land in common to all the world, to everybody'...these ideals and those concerning the sharing of wealth and labor increasingly diverge from the practices of everyday life.⁵

While the doctrines of Judaism, Islam and Christianity espouse democratic and egalitarian principles, the conflict between a world where the "sharing of wealth" is the mythologized natural form and a world where socially derived hierarchical relations govern, emerged immediately after Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden. This is the dilemma that adherents to the tradition of Abraham (whether this tradition is

⁴ T. Hawkes, *Structuralism and Semiotics*, (Berkeley, 1977), 13.

⁵ Taussig, (1980), 115-116.

articulated in the Koran, Torah or Bible) face: the cruel social hardships of the real world must be confronted so that the believer may one day find the natural self again in the utopia of the spiritual world. This contradiction, however, is not irresolvable for nonwestern groups when confronted with the dichotomy of spiritual/material reinterpret the Biblical myth so that the return to the natural can be experienced among the living.

Non-capitalist	Capitalist
Spiritual	Physical
Natural	Social
Equal	Hierarchical

Anthropologists have used the above distinctions frequently in differentiating modern from traditional societal forms.⁶ The interplay, however, between these two types of societal rationale has been given less attention. The prevalent form of religious and ideological expression in southern Europe at the time of the settling of the Azores was Catholicism, which provided legitimacy for the feudal structure of society. But the transference of this ideology to the Azores was not as easily accomplished as installing feudal relations on the islands. The Azores represented a new way of life for the early settlers, a chance to realize opportunities which were denied them on the continent. Consequently, religious institutions which were noted for their social rigidity on the mainland took on an almost egalitarian spirit on the islands.

⁶ See G. Berreman, "Scale and Social Relations" in *Current Anthropology*, (1978), Vol. 19, No. 2.

Public Ritual

There are a number of public rituals that reinforce community integration in the Azores. The most prominent of these is the *festa do Espírito Santo* (the Pentecost). It is during the *Espírito Santo* that activity transcends the level of individual households and specific rites of community solidarity are enacted. Although the practise of *Espírito Santo* differs from island to island and even from village to village on particular islands, there are overall characteristics that pertain to the ritual in general. One of the most interesting aspects of the *Espírito Santo* is its historic journey. Even though it is practiced to a limited degree in Brazil it has almost totally disappeared on the Portuguese mainland where it originated.⁷ It is in this sense a ritual that is almost exclusively Azorean. But it is not a static ritual, for it has a well traveled history. It was brought to the islands in the fifteenth century during the first migratory wave and incorporated into the ritual cycle, and it has accompanied Azoreans on their migratory odyssey to the Americas. Antonieta Costa in *Festas em Louvor do Divino Espírito Santo*, a ritual analysis influenced by the work of Victor Turner, writes that:

In as far as there are Azorean communities on the west and east coasts of North America and southern Brazil, there also exists this cultural manifestation that is characterized through the *Festas do Espírito Santo*.⁸

The Historical Development of the *Espírito Santo*

The ritual of *Espírito Santo*, in all probability, was initiated by Isabel, the wife of Dom Dinis (1279-1325), as a philanthropic gesture to the poor. In its original expression, it was designed as a redistributive rite through which

⁷ See Harris, (1953).

⁸ A. Costa *Festas em Louvor do Divino Espírito Santo*, (Lisbon, 1987), 19.

differences in wealth were de-emphasized and the good fortune of the community was shared by all its members. It is this salient feature of the *Espírito Santo*, as a *festa do povo*, that ties the ritual explicitly to the migratory history of the Azorean people. The *Espírito Santo* as an egalitarian migratory rite has persisted and been reinforced for over five hundred years within the context of a rigid hierarchical Catholic society. It is this interplay, between what Anthony Galt has described as the real world and the official world of Mediterranean culture, that gives the *Espírito Santo* its special place in the symbolic universe of the Azoreans.⁹

While Queen Isabel was responsible for the introduction of the *Espírito Santo* on the mainland, it is not entirely clear as to the origin of the various elements associated with the practise of the ritual. The religious specialists (*os folias*), who were historically central to the enactment of the ritual, appear to have their origins in the medieval period. There is a strong resemblance between the *folias* and the ancient Celtic druids who appear in Christian mythology as magicians and wizards.¹⁰ Other aspects of the *folias* performance during the ritual can be related to Greek superstition. During the development of the ritual on the mainland, these clearly pagan forms were incorporated into the rite of the *Espírito Santo*, but in contrast to the individualistic interpretative role that these early magical practitioners enjoyed, the performance of the *folias* during the *Espírito Santo* was highly structured and regimented—the earlier elements were introduced into the ritual with a major emphasis on "devotion and piety"¹¹

⁹ Anthony Galt, "Rethinking Patron Client Relationships The Real System and the Official System in Southern Italy," *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, (1974).

¹⁰ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol I, 183.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Marcelino Lima provides the following account for the evolution of the *Espírito Santo* in the Azores.¹² The *feira do Espírito Santo* was brought to the Azores by the first settlers and the first *império* (a small ritual chapel) had been constructed on the island of Terceira by 1492. By 1523, the ritual had spread to all of the islands. In the same year a plague killed thousands of people on the island of São Miguel. The inhabitants of the island asked for the assistance of the divine *Espírito Santo*, "with a promise to serve him and distribute the first fruits of the land to the poor. The plague was contained."¹³ The people showed their gratitude by instituting brotherhoods (*irmandades*) in honor of the *Espírito Santo*. They celebrated with large *festas*, gaiety and dancing, and food was distributed food to the poor. On Faial, the *império* of the nobles was built following the eruption of a volcano between Praia do Norte and Capelo, April 24, 1672. Considering the positive results of celebrating the *Espírito Santo*, it would appear that a strong motive emerged early in Azorean history for the continuation of the ritual.

However, the state had other ideas as to what constituted religious purity and attempted to control and eliminate the more nefarious elements of the ritual. The state intervened for the first time in 1558 when the Bishop D. Frei Jorge de Santiago banned the dances and the *folias* from the churches.¹⁴ By 1648, shortly after the restoration, the Portuguese King, Dom João I, in a royal letter registered his disgust with the manner in which the Azoreans practised their religious rituals.¹⁵ In 1697, the Bishop D. Antonio Vierira Leitão visited Faial and before he left the island had six parishioners, a

¹² Lima (1943), 491-505.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ F. Drummond cited in *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol.III: 68.

number of whom were priests, imprisoned. Leitão, a bishop sent from Lisbon, was generally concerned about the exorbitant costs of the *Espírito Santo* and tried to prohibit the festa entirely.¹⁶ Again, in 1744, the Bishop D. Fr. Valerio do Sacramento banned the *folias* and dances from the *Espírito Santo* and instituted certain reforms aimed at curbing religious abuses.¹⁷

How much the *Espírito Santo* deviated from the norms of Catholicism or how much the church's reaction was conditioned by a general movement to consolidate religious practise is difficult to determine. The inquisition on the Iberian Peninsula, in the sixteenth century was generally aimed at Protestants and Jews, but neither of these two groups was numerically significant in Portugal and thus did not pose any serious threat to Catholicism. Marques writes that the Portuguese Inquisition, "in order to justify its own existence" in the absence of other targets "delved into all forms of suspicious theologies, philosophies or religious currents. It also fought what was considered superstition, witchcraft, idolatry, and all sorts of pagan practises."¹⁸ The Catholic church, however, was an ideological gatekeeper and through the inquisition attempted to control the religious symbols of the church by eliminating the practise of nefarious ritual.¹⁹

The power of the inquisition in Portugal cannot be underestimated and the policies that emanated as a result of it manifested themselves in ideological, social and economic policies. The inquisition was supported by the royal court and served as an effective ideological vehicle to ensure centralized control. On the mainland, many of the inquisition's policies were

¹⁶ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. III, 292.

¹⁷ S. Macedo cited in *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol III, 69.

¹⁸ Marques, (1976), 287.

¹⁹ See, Scott, (1985).

directed against those engaged in commerce, specifically New Christians and Jews.²⁰ In the Azores, many of the foreign businessmen had converted to Catholicism and thus were unaffected by the policies of the Inquisition.²¹

The *Espírito Santo* and Outmigration

Lima divides the practise of the *Espírito Santo* into two time periods. In the first, from the initial settlement of the islands until 1830, the ritual came into continual conflict with the church. During this period, the rite became almost hedonistic with the *folias* and participants dancing in the doors of the churches. The many attempts by the church and state to limit the activities of the *Espírito Santo* to the ecclesiastical rites of orthodox Catholicism may have succeeded in discouraging the practise of the more creative elements of the rite. The final effort against the paganistic uses of the *Espírito Santo* was in 1843 when dancing and parties in the houses of the *Espírito Santo* were prohibited by the Bishop D. Frei Estevão. "The church was purified and the profane practises that had proliferated in conjunction with the *Espírito Santo* were cut off."²²

There were a number of events in the nineteenth century that contributed to the changing character of the *Espírito Santo*. The first was that the local export economy was declining. By the middle of the nineteenth century, various blights had destroyed the wine and fruit industries. During this same period, out-migration to the United States began and the loss in population in most likely contributed to a decline in the festivities associated with *Espírito Santo*. Local residents today say that the *Espírito Santo* was

²⁰ Marques, (1976)

²¹ See Duncan, (1972)

²² Lima (1943), 493.

much more festive before large-scale out-migration in the 1950s and the same may hold true for the nineteenth century. Another event that undoubtedly altered the *Espírito Santo* was the liberalization of European society in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The emergence of the *Filarmonías* (discussed below) and their incorporation into religious activity has contributed to a more stoic rendition of the *feira do Espírito Santo* on some of the islands. Another major transitional influence on the ritual was the individual invoking of the *Espírito Santo*. The personal performance of the *Espírito Santo* began in the nineteenth century following increased outmigration from the islands.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a flurry of "high cultural" activity in Europe that set the tone for the incorporation of the Azores into the modern period. Although the birth of many of the institutions that today are predominant in Azorean society had their origins in a previous historical period, the development of these institutions were complimented by the injection of new ideas and new forms.

In continental Portugal during the latter part of the nineteenth century, a time one can appropriately refer to as a period of cultural florescence, the Republicans while still not possessing overt political power, exerted their influence in other ways. The republican platform in the last quarter of the nineteenth century called for the opening up of Portuguese society, the emancipation of women, the abolition of child labor, and the dissolution of institutions representative of an old way of life. But in many ways these new changes only served to intensify processes already underway.

The Change in Musical Tradition

While the technological advances of the period eluded the Portuguese, cultural forms associated with the Industrial Revolution found socio-cultural expression both on the mainland and on the Azorean archipelago. One of the major cultural developments on the islands was the introduction of marching bands. In the late nineteenth century bands known locally as *Filarmónicas* replaced the *folias* in many Azorean villages.

In the Azores the musical tradition of the *folias* in the nineteenth century was not that secure. The *folias*' position within the ritual context was continually being challenged by the state and the church, and the general public mood was amenable to a form of expression that functioned within the boundaries of what was considered Christian normalcy. Susan Langer writes that:

Music, like language is an articulate form. Its parts not only fuse together to yield a greater entity, but in doing so they they maintain some degree of separate existence, and the sensuous character of each element is affected by its function in the complex whole.²³

The changing musical tradition in the Azores was a reflection of larger cultural processes. While the mischievous and individualistic contribution of the *folias* to Azorean religious practise challenged the orthodoxy of the Catholicism, the church itself was not that instrumental in coordinating the change from one musical form to another. The cultural changes that accompanied the industrial revolution had a major impact throughout Europe and even peripheral European regions such as Portugal were affected by these developments. The assimilation of "higher" cultural forms of

²³ S. Langer, *Feeling and Form*, (New York, 1953), 31

expression by the lower classes, however, would not have been possible without the participation of migrants who subsidized these undertakings. The embracement of high cultural forms borrowed from general European culture symbolized the movement away from an identification with colonial regime to an identification with the social mobility that was promised through industrial participation.

The Faialense institution that today symbolizes high culture and signifies to its members that their social ascension is complete, the *Amor da Patria* club, was founded in November 28, 1859. The *Amor da Patria* was started by the titled class--the children of *morgados* who still referred to themselves as barons and baronesses.²⁴ The society began in the house of a *morgado* named Terra and initially served as a meeting place where those with noble blood and others with high social standing met to discuss the important events of the day. Structurally, the *Amor da Patria* was representative of a bygone era, but its basic foundation would provide the outline for a new way of life. The interplay between the old and the new, stratified and egalitarian, ideology and culture resulted in the fusion of forms that emerged in a distinctive fashion in the Azores.

In the villages, high culture encroached in another way--in a form of musical expression known as the *Filarmónicas*. In the early part of the nineteenth century, Captain Boid, an Englishman, who was in Horta staying in the house of American Consul John Dabney, wrote that while the Azoreans had a great love for music they had little talent for it.²⁵ Despite Mark Twain's remark after his visit to Faial in 1867 that "the good Catholic

²⁴ Lima, (1943).

²⁵ E. Boid, *A Description of the Azores or Western Islands*, (London, 1835).

Portuguese crossed himself and prayed to God to shield him from all blasphemous desire to know more than his father did before him,"²⁶ there appeared to be little reluctance on the part of Faial's peasants, less than fifteen years later, to embrace a musical form that was symphonic in nature and highly notated. The music of the *Filarmónicas* is a complicated and sophisticated music that should have been, if one accepts the descriptions of the Azorean mind by travel writers, well beyond the intellectual capability of the average Faialense. Yet in 1881, *Filarmónicas* were established in Flamengos and Praia do Almoxarife, two villages on the island of Faial.

In Praia do Almoxarife, the *Filarmónica* was started by a resident canon from the Algarvian city of Faro and two school masters.²⁷ The transference of this cultural form from the high echelons of European culture to the small villages involved mediators to provide the cultural interpretation. In this sense the school masters were appropriate purveyors of this new cultural form. As Pina-Cabral writes about Northern Portugal: "The bourgeoisie of the small provincial towns is a mere link in a chain which finds its origins in the great scientific, cultural and religious metropolises of the world".²⁸

Funding the *Filarmónicas* and purchasing the instruments was a major problem at the beginning and the bands had to rely on the private donations of individuals and remittances from America. But by 1896 there were enough resources available and villagers interested in playing the music that another *Filarmónica* was formed in Praia do Almoxarife. The second *Filarmónica* lasted only a few years before the two bands merged to become

²⁶ Twain, (1980), 43.

²⁷ The historical information on the *Filarmónicas* is taken from *1^o Centenario Da Sociedade Unânime Praiense*, compiled by Alberto Vargas, (Ponta Delgada, 1981); and *Filarmónicas do Faial*, produced by Carlos Lobão, (Horta, 1987).

²⁸ J. Pina-Cabral, *Sons of Adam, Daughters of Eve*, (Oxford, 1986), 32.

the *Unanime Praiense*, the present name of the *Filarmonica*. The band temporarily disbanded during the first World War but was reorganized in 1918.

In 1930, the *Filarmonica* in Praia almost dissolved due to a lack of instruments. The band was saved by two individuals: Isauro Oliveira Fraiao who found the necessary money to buy the instruments, and Manuel Veríssimo dos Santos, who had just recently arrived from America. Together they began to prepare the band for public performance. In 1934, the band played in the Praça da Republica in Ponta Delgada and two of their most outstanding pieces were "Long Live our U. S. of America" and the "Beautiful Galatea", the latter being an especially complicated and difficult piece to play.

While the structure for the band emerged in 1881, the period after 1930 can be considered the formative period for the *Filarmonica*. It was at this time, when out-migration to the United States had almost come to a halt, that the new musical tradition became incorporated into village life. The band began to play in all the *festas* and local processions and a fraternal allegiance developed between the band members. Membership in the *Filarmonica* became a definitive feature of male identity in the community. Had out-migration still been possible during this period, the loss of possible members might have prevented the consolidation of the band as a cohesive unit.

To what extent the lack of opportunities for migration contributed to the *Filarmonica's* development is difficult to say, but what needs to be emphasized is that the band developed during the Salazarian era when other forms of expression were not tolerated. Salazar promoted a rigid Catholicism, so the regimented nature of the *Filarmonicas* did not conflict with his ideas of social conformity. The *folias*, on the other hand, with their wild abandon were considered a threat to the social order.

Initiation into the band was based on the following regimen. The older members of the band trained young males in the village on their respective instruments. The young men, when they approached adulthood, were gradually assimilated into the band in the chorus sections. As they became experienced and grew older they were given additional responsibilities as soloists. Before the building that housed the old *Filarmónica* was built in 1937 on land donated by Silvino Ataíde de Oliveira, the lessons took place in the houses of band members. The first lessons involve reading music and only after this is mastered do the members go onto their specific instruments.

While the band was started by an educated elite from the village, actual membership was not confined along class or occupational lines. The membership in the *Filarmónica* in 1960 just after out-migration began on a large scale, was as follows: Masons, carpenters, fishermen and commercial agents. Today, almost all the members of the band work at wage jobs in Horta or elsewhere on the island.

The *Filarmónicas* have been an important component of the enactment of the *Espírito Santo* since the end of the nineteenth century. Much of the festive activities of the ritual center around the performance of the band. The band is a part of the procession for the official mass and also plays at the nightly gatherings that are held in honor of the event.

The *Espírito Santo* in Transition

The *Espírito Santo* is still an important event on the Azores but many local residents say that the times are *muito triste* because there *há pouco gente* (The festivals are sad because there are few people). Older Azoreans recall that the *Espírito Santo* was truly a village affair before the villages had electricity and that the residents played music and danced all night. The

festival is still popular but cars and public transport have made the event an island-wide affair rather than a series of localized activities. On Faial, residents of particular villages travel around the islands and visit the different celebrations of the *Espírito Santo*, the days of which are announced ahead of time in the local paper. Attendance at the various *festas* is not limited to specific islands and the residents of Faial regularly travel to Madalena on Pico to attend the elaborately performed *Espírito Santo* festival there.

Today, as it has been since the *feita* was first practised on the archipelago, the way the ritual is carried out varies from island to island and even from *freguesia* to *freguesia*. On São Miguel, *romárias* (pilgrims) circle the island by foot before lent, visiting churches in a pilgrimage that lasts a week. On Terciera, the celebration of the *Espírito Santo* is closely tied to the cycle of the bull and bullfights are held on the island throughout the religious cycle. In Madalena, Pico, women walk through the streets in procession with baskets of specially made bread on their heads. But while the structural features of the ritual have remained constant through the years, the way particular people participate in the rite has changed since it was introduced to the islands.

Migrant participation has transformed the *Espírito Santo* from a community rite to a ritual that can be invoked through individual manipulation.

There are many occurrences of the festivities of the Espirito Santo executed by individuals, satisfying promises made in difficult moments, or to overcome a serious illness, or for success in a business undertaking, or before going off to labor in a distant land, agreeing to serve the Espirito Santo so they may one day return home alive and well to see their family. In returning they kill an ox, or at times two, if the host returns with an abundance of dollars...they distribute alms and presents, they hold sumptuous feasts, dispensing beef, sweet bread, rice pudding and they dance.²⁹

The migrations of the late nineteenth century, through the injection of remittance monies, altered ritual performance on the islands. Azoreans were lured to the United States with offers of work but the monetary wage and the commodities that they could purchase with this wage were the only actual rewards that they received from their American hosts. Blue collar workers were welcome in the United States as long as they did not attempt to cross the traditional class boundaries. The Eugenics movement was gaining momentum in the United States and publications that described Azoreans as having Negroid genes contributed to discrimination against the immigrants from the islands.³⁰

Philpott writes that feasts and ritual affairs denote the reintegration of the migrant into the community.³¹ Migrants who are socially rejected in the industrial sphere can return to the islands and use their savings to reaffirm their social identities through ritual participation. The following case provides historical insight into how the *Espírito Santo* is invoked by migrants on an individual basis if they feel the need to make a *promessa*. In the village on Pico, many migrants from Canada and the United States still return to

²⁹ Lima, (1943), 496.

³⁰ Taft, (1969).

³¹ Philpott, (1968), 467.

their ancestral village to fulfill their *promessa*. In contrast to Faial, where a migrant may participate in a small *Espírito Santo* for approximately fifty people, on Pico the objective is to feed the whole village. To meet this obligation, return migrants must at times ignore the calendrical dates in the ritual calendar, and return to the islands when they are on vacation from work or it is otherwise convenient to fulfill the *promessa*. If the *promessa* is large, a nearby village is sometimes included in the obligation.

In March of 1988 a woman whose husband had recently passed away returned to Pico from Canada to fulfill her *promessa*. She had decided to feed the inhabitants of two neighboring villages. She purchased two bulls at an approximate price of 100,000 escudos apiece, enough wine so each household could be presented with a liter and a bread for each household. The villagers were not very excited about receiving this food and to a large extent they expected that migrants fulfill this function and felt they were owed the food and wine. The bulls were large but old and their age to the villagers reduced the value of the gift.³²

The communal nature of the *Espírito Santo* serves a number of purposes within the Azorean village. The *feira do Espírito Santo* which typically begins in May or June, depending on the date of Easter Sunday, also marks the end of the rainy season. Because of the heavy winds and rains, mobility during the winter is severely curtailed. Consequently, people spend a great deal of time indoors in the winter time and rarely see their fellow villagers except on Sundays when they go to church. The *Espírito Santo* is

³² R. Lee, in "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari," *Natural History*, 78, has written on how egalitarian peoples try to reduce the value of a gift by insulting the gift giver.

when people venture out into the public sphere to enjoy the new weather and reaffirm their social interconnectedness.

The *Espírito Santo* is also a time of communal eating. All the other Azorean *festas*, even though some, such as São João, may bring the islanders into the public sphere, center around the extended family. For the *Espírito Santo*, the villagers congregate and eat with their respective *irmandades*. There are four *impérios* in the village on Faial, but their size is small and cannot accommodate all the members of the brotherhood. So local homes and other buildings are used to feed those that the *impérios* cannot accommodate. The responsibility of providing the extra space normally falls on the *mordomo*. In the case that another residence is required the main members of the *irmandade* eat in the *império* while peripheral members such as family members eat in the extra building.

The expense for an *Espírito Santo* feast is quite high and local residents would be hard pressed to sponsor an *Espírito Santo* in successive years. While there is social pressure exerted for the wealthy to participate financially in the *Espírito Santo* as *mordomos*, if the *mordomo* for a particular year does not have the necessary resources for the *feita*, other members of the *irmandade* contribute so the *feita* can still be held in the *mordomo's* honor. This occurred in 1987 in a neighborhood of Horta, when the *mordomo* could not afford the *Espírito Santo*. Another source of funds is the auction which is held on the evening of the *Espírito Santo*.

Sweet breads, bottles of homemade liquor, agricultural produce, and cakes are auctioned and the money from the sales used to pay for the paraphernalia associated with the *feita* and to make a donation to the band. Streamers and lights are run across the main streets where the procession will go and around the *praça* where the people gather following the meal. The

villagers pay exorbitant prices during the auction; prices which do not reflect the true value of the object being sold and which represent a financial sacrifice for the buyers. The auction is somewhat of a game with the auctioneer gregariously cajoling people to increase their bids. People participate in the auction energetically and financially and because the profits go to the maintenance of the festa some of the costs are defrayed. So even though some Azoreans may not participate directly in sponsoring the rite, they participate indirectly by purchasing the auctioned goods. The factors that motivate this participation are difficult to ascertain, but some Azoreans feel that there will be supernatural reprisals if they withdraw their participation or if any items remain unsold at the end of the auction.

A number of myths are currently held by Azoreans as to the spiritual properties associated with the *Espírito Santo*. The myths serve to explain the supernatural forces that exist to ensure that the festa takes place. Appropriately, both of the myths involve cattle, the food source around which the festivities of the *Espírito Santo* revolve. The accounts are usually related with a sense of disbelief and wonder. Both of the myths were told by return migrants in the village on Faial.

Myth I

On the island of São Jorge, which is clearly visible from Faial during the time of the *Espírito Santo*, a peasant was determined to raise two healthy and fat oxen to redistribute at the time of the festa. To ensure that the cattle had sufficient grazing land, he brought the cattle by boat to an islet (*Formiga*) off the coast of São Jorge. There the cattle remained while the *mordomo* went through the other preparations for the festa. Calamity in the way of a storm struck at the time of the festa and the boats could not reach the tiny

islet. The *mordomo* was panicked for he had made his *promessa* to the *Espírito Santo* and now he would have no meat to serve. The situation was especially dire because the *promessa* had been made and to not satisfy an obligation was worse than not having undertaken the promise to begin with. The people waited for the storm to abate, but the storm developed more velocity each day. Finally, on the day of the *Espírito Santo* when the *sopa* from which the beef was made was to be served, the cattle appeared. Apparently, the two oxen had recognized the urgency of the situation and their integral role in the rite, as well as the *mordomo's* precarious situation, and had flown from the small islet to the site of the *feita*.

Myth II

During one of the volcanoes on the island of Pico, directly across from the village on Faial, lava from the crater had almost totally covered a wide expanse on the island. After the air had cleared and the island again became visible, there was a tiny parcel of green in the midst of the lava rock. On this small piece of vegetation stood a bull calmly grazing. The people of the island who had withstood another natural disaster could still celebrate their survival by slaughtering the bull to demonstrate their gratitude for being alive. The fact that the bull had survived attested to the power of the *Espírito Santo* and the necessity of participating in the ritual. If the *Espírito Santo* was not a pervasive spiritual force protecting that which was sacred to the rite, the bull would have been covered with lava like everything else.

Postscript

The maintenance of an egalitarian identity in the midst of a social reality where socio-economic opportunity is demarcated along class lines is not peculiar to the Azores. The southern Pentecostals of the United States, for example, have also adopted elements of the Holy Ghost in an attempt to rationalize and make spiritual sense of a world where they have little economic or political power. Like the Azoreans, the Pentecostals, who invoke the spirit of the Holy Ghost through snake handling, are largely working class. According to Weston La Barre, the southern Pentecostals stress simplicity and avoid ostentatious displays that symbolize differences in wealth. La Barre, however, does not relate this attempt to diffuse economic disparities to the class structure that defines the southern Pentecostals social existence. Rather, La Barre focuses on psychiatric variables and the natural tendencies of humans to dichotomize the relationship between good and evil within the domain of the symbolic event. Thus, he traces the preoccupation with snake handling, and the proclivity of defining the spiritual forces of good and evil to their logical material counterparts, to the universal tendency of human societies to try to deal with the uncertainties of human life through the ritual process.³³ This idea of ritual interpretation, owes much to the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who argues that people universally use myth and ritual as a battleground to work out the dualities they are plagued with from birth. These oppositions, to Lévi-Strauss, are constructs of the mind and have little to do social reality.³⁴

³³ W. La Barre, *They Shall Take Up Serpents*, (1976).

³⁴ C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, (New York, 1963).

In contrast to the denial of material differences found in the practise of the Holy Ghost ritual in the American south, the Azorean version of the Pentecost revolves around the recreation of a social universe that is hierarchical in structure and full of pageantry. Francis Rogers writes that the crowning of the emperor and empress during the *Espírito Santo* may have been inspired by the real crowning of an "imperial pair" on the mainland. In 1452, shortly after the Azores were colonized, Pope Nicholas V "solemnized the marriage of" Fredrich III, the Holy Roman Emperor-elect, to Princess Leonor the daughter of King Duarte of Portugal. According to Rogers, the newly installed aristocracy in the Azores mimicked the high cultural patterns of European society and this cultural mimicry was passed on to the common classes. The practise of crowning a queen therefore "suggests lower class worship of the upper class manifested in the many references to *fidalgos* and *morgados*."³⁵ The introduction of the cultural symbols of the *Espírito Santo* were, from this perspective, an attempt by a newly installed aristocratic gentry to forge a social identity. This line of argument is in agreement with the traditional view of Portuguese historians that in the formative years the institutions on the Atlantic archipelagos were structural replicas of those that existed on the mainland.

Saints' days and special events provide a mechanism for social integration and community solidarity. The positive function of the "ritual process" has been bypassed as of late in favor of an approach (Marxist or conflict oriented) that focuses on the negative elements of the human experience. Ritual is seen as "reactionary" or a vehicle that resolves endemic

³⁵ Rogers, (1979),300.

conflict within societies.³⁶ Ritual, as Victor Turner argues, does have a positive function and it is the ritual's integrative elements that makes it an interesting inquiry of study.³⁷ The rite provides meaning, security and instills feelings of *communitas* in the village.

From an economic perspective, the village is difficult to define as an entity. Through ritual, however, one can see the bonds that tie together the community. The ritual cycle on Faial and Pico has undergone a number of changes over the last twenty-five years. Again, a great deal of the change is related to the loss of people through outmigration. When older Azoreans speak about the sadness of attending a *feira* today, they are not referring to demography but emotion. It is their friends who have left and despite the fact that the *feiras* are probably as well attended today as they were twenty years ago, older Azoreans feel that what was lost through migration was the sense of community that they shared with family members and friends.

There are a number of interpretations to why Azoreans would so freely dispense of their wealth in a ritual context. The first one as a levelling mechanism has already been briefly discussed and it perhaps merits closer attention. There are very close associations between the distribution of individual resources and the concept of the "image of the limited good"—a concept that George Foster coined to describe peasant behavior that was obviously not productive from a capitalistic perspective.³⁸ Social scientists who have written about the Azores find a great deal of utility in Foster's construct.³⁹ Azoreans on the islands do not take advantage of business

³⁶ R. Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors*, New Haven (1968). Gans (1985) also sees ritual action as a means to resolve conflict.

³⁷ V. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, (Chicago, 1969).

³⁸ G. Foster, *Tzintzuntzan*, (Boston, 1967).

³⁹ F. Carmo, *Inovações Mudança Social e Factor Religioso*, (Ponta Delgada, 1985),

opportunities and seem to be highly conservative in regard to financial experimentation. So participation in the *Espírito Santo* would seem to be a highly efficient way to increase one's community status without resorting to risk taking activity.

But this type of a perspective does not explain why migrants would choose to participate in a festa cycle which would involve the expenditure of large amounts of capital that could be used for other purposes. Another interpretation that is perhaps more useful in this situation is that Azoreans, like other people who are heavily involved in commodity consumption, attempt to define their status in social areas where it is recognized. For the typical Azorean there is little chance for social mobility in the United States and so there is little effort expended in defining one's status in a socio-economic arena where their attempts at social ascension are not publicly recognized. So the logical domain for the Azorean migrant, where money can be translated into social recognition, is back on the islands. The *festa* thus serves as a vehicle through which remittance monies can be directly channelled into strategies which facilitate social mobility.

Another functional advantage that a retention of the ideology of *Espírito Santo* confers is that it brings resources from the more affluent Azorean communities in the United States back to the impoverished communities in the Azores on a regular basis. It is for this reason that the *promessas* associated with the *Espírito Santo* had more local meaning, in some villages, during the Salazar period than they do today. During this time, there was little economic opportunity on the islands and the monies returned through ritual practise represented a financial lifeline on which those who did not migrate depended. Since the 1974 revolution and the opening up of local job opportunities, the dependence on remittance monies

has decreased. But while the ritual has lost some of its economic significance its spiritual identity has nevertheless been retained.

While the *Espírito Santo* has historically provided cultural continuity in the Azorean community recent changes in the island economy may undermine the future practise of the ritual. The ritual since the nineteenth century has fused elements of the migrant experience and an agrarian lifestyle in the context of the Catholic rite. With integration into the European economic community this pattern may change. First, because the cost of living in the Azores is being increased to general European levels, migrants may not be able to afford to return and finance the *Espírito Santo*. Second, the de-emphasis of the agrarian economy and the disappearance of the cattle economy may contribute to the removal of the central symbol of the rite. In the next two chapters, I turn to an examination of current economic changes on the Azores to illustrate how the most recent phase of economic expansion in Europe may destroy the historical link between migrant community and sending society.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE, 1976-1988

In general, it is fair to say that the essential aim of an island development policy should be to upgrade those duties and functions arising out of, and thus consistent with, local culture and traditions, but which can be instrumental in a progressive integration of island economic systems with those of the outside world.¹

The developmental connections that would link the Azores with the larger European community began to unfold shortly after the April revolution of 1974. After almost fifty years of dictatorship, it was considered politically expedient by more conservative factions in Portugal to combine Portugal's future with those European nations where there already was a longstanding tradition of democracy. The economy which had stagnated as a result of Salazar's protectionist policies also needed to be revived and the method to accomplish this was thought to be injections of large quantities of foreign capital.² The ideological component of modernization stressed a gradual assimilation of underdeveloped regions such as the Azores into the larger economy. The economic component of modernization, however, called for a wholesale revamping of the islands' economic infrastructure. In

¹ Ferrari, "The General Policy of National Governments in Europe in Favor of Islands," paper presented at *Second Conference of European Island Regions*, São Miguel, (1984), 4.

² "Introduction" in *Portugal in Development: Immigration, Industrialization, the European Community*, H. Bruneau, I. Rosa, L. Macleod (eds.), (Ottawa, 1984), 7.

this chapter I examine this developmental impact in the context of shifting labor patterns on the Azorean islands of Pico and Faial.

Ostensibly, the introduction of local job opportunities would bring an end to the cyclical pattern of outmigration from the islands. In the following discussion, however, I outline that the type of productive activity being introduced on the islands might have the opposite effect. Rather than curb the flow of migration, the new phase of capitalist expansion on the islands may actually produce the same economic conditions that have stimulated migration in the past. During the current phase of capitalist expansion it is the search for and the control of markets that has lead to the formal creation of large economic communities. In the sense that Europe represents a large internal market that is protected through EEC guidelines, the creation of an economic community that will reinforce the economic interests of its member nations is an effective strategy in a world where the forces of international capital can penetrate and undermine weak national economies.

The European Economic Community

The developmental strategy of the EEC for the newly admitted countries of Portugal, Spain and Greece is based on neoclassical economic theory. Supply and demand are the operative variables. Prices are set way beyond the means of the average worker in an attempt to stimulate the productive capacity of the individual. The reasoning is that the average worker will work harder to be able to purchase the expensive items available on the market. Then market prices will encourage the development of innovative productive techniques, and as Azorean commodities become more competitive on the market, local labor values will rise. Gradually, wages and prices will reach a level of parity. According to this developmental

rationale, if wages were increased at the same time as prices there would be no incentive to increase production. This all works well in theory, but in order for production to increase in the Azores, industry related to productive activity must first be introduced. Curiously, while there is a continuous stream of developmental capital into the Azores, types of industry that would allow Azoreans to compete effectively on the global European market are not being given priority. If increasing the productive capacity on the Azores is not an EEC objective, one may ask what is the advantage to the European community at large in incorporating the underdeveloped zones into the EEC market structure?

The movement of trans-European capital into peripheral regions of Europe allows the dominant nations within the European Community to extend their economic interests without the risks that capitalist investment in the Third World entail. While Greece, Spain and Portugal have all experienced "revolutions" in the last fifteen years and while the transition from fascism to democracy created some societal unrest, the political climate in southern Europe is relatively stable in comparison with other parts of the world. Capital investment in southern Europe is thus based on a pragmatic long-term strategy that ensures a safe investment zone for developmental capital.

Economically, the incorporation of the southern European nations into the EEC has other equally important advantages. The per capita income in some regions of southern Europe is comparable to many of the more developed Third World nations. While nations' per capita incomes are not accurate indicators of the distribution of wealth within countries, they are convenient comparative indices with which to examine favorable investment environments. Spain in 1984 had a per capita income of \$4,400

and Greece's average income was \$3,770. Portugal, at \$1,970, had the lowest per capita income of the recently admitted EEC countries.³ The per capita income for the Azores has improved since the 1974 revolution when it was 57% below the average for continental Portugal. Currently, the Azores has a per capita income of approximately \$1,200, almost 35% behind that of the continental Portugal.⁴ Despite this improvement since the revolution, the Azores still has the lowest per capita income in all of Europe. So while Portugal and Greece are categorized as upper middle-income countries by the World Bank, the region of the Azores in terms of per capita income falls into the category of lower middle-income nations.⁵ It would seem then that the Azores with its low labor costs would present an opportune environment for capitalist expansion. But again, despite an ideological commitment that the Azorean worker will share in the future prosperity of EEC expansion, the economic policies in regard to human development are exclusionary rather than inclusionary.

Mário Murteira writes that the reasons for recent capital expansion in Europe are:

- 1) the availability of natural resources which includes both marine resources and conditions favorable for the development of tourist industry
- 2) low salaries
- 3) market expansion
- 4) advantageous location
- 5) a favorable economic climate that allows free access to labor, limited tariffs and easy removal of resources⁶

³ *World Development Report*, 1986.

⁴ DREPA, *Açores em Números*, (1986).

⁵ *World Development Report*, 1986.

⁶ Murteira, (1979), 157.

Azorean Development

The Azores according to the above conditions should be a developmental utopia. But the availability of a cheap labor force has not yet attracted European investors to the Azores. To compensate for this lack of interest, local economists are now attempting to exploit both the low salaries on the Azores and the favorable capital investment opportunities that come with operating from an EEC region. Local economists have visited Tijuana, Mexico and are enthusiastic about establishing *maquiladorat*ype export processing industry in the Azores. They argue that the problems of absenteeism and the high turnover of employees that plague the *maquiladoras* would not happen on the Azores.⁷ To foreign investors who are not nationally based in the EEC, the islands provide a locale where industry can take advantage of cheap labor and at the same time qualify for favorable market access by setting up shop on EEC territory.⁸ There has, however, been minimal foreign investment interest in this local plan.

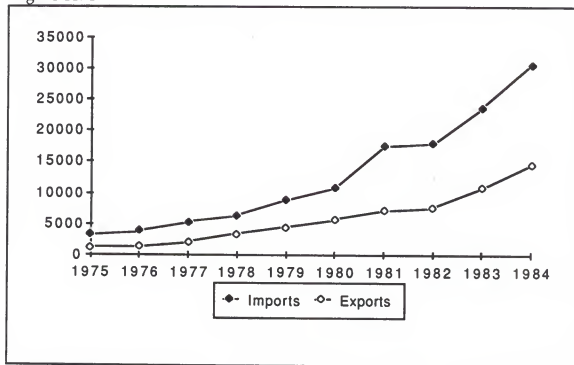
Trans-European manufacturers are taking advantage of the Azores as a new market. EEC capital has brought prosperity to the islands, and the increased circulation of money has fueled consumer spending. Foodstuffs are imported from all over Europe at exorbitant prices and much of the produce that arrives in the Azores is rotten by the time it is unloaded. Danish chickens and cured meats are readily available in the markets and shops. The

⁷ The *maquiladora* owners prefer a large turnover in employees because they do not have to pay benefit payments to long-term workers. See H. Safa, "Runaway Shops and Female Employment: The Search for Cheap Labor," in *Women's Work*, E. Leacock and H. Safa (eds.), (South Hadley, 1986).

⁸ The specific details for Azorean development have been outlined by M. Fortuna in "A População Activa dos Açores e a sua Distribuição Sectorial (1970-1996)" (Ponta Delgada, 1984). Fortuna's paper stresses the advantages of the development of manufacturing industry on the islands.

chickens quite often have expiration dates that indicate that they were probably not considered fit for continental consumption at least three to four months before they were exported to the Azores. The cured meats are of low quality and high fat content. From the caliber of the German tools and machinery that arrive in the Azores one would not guess that the Germans are globally famous for their durable steel products. The Azores are thus not only an accessible market, but a dumping ground for cheap products produced by the dominant EEC nations looking to turn a quick profit. Consequently, while export values have increased since the revolution, they have not kept pace with rising imports.

Figure 11. 1



Imports/Exports Azores

Source: *Açores em Números*, (1986).

Note: The amounts are in *escudos* (1000).

The Azores, as the richest fishing zone in the mid-Atlantic, do offer access to marine resources. Large steak fish such as tuna and swordfish are caught in the Azores and then shipped to Lisbon and northern cities in France and Germany. This is one of the general benefits of establishing a system of price parity throughout the EEC before raising local wages. The local people cannot afford to purchase their own resources which are shipped to northern Europe in exchange for cheap commodities and rotten food. The large fish that Azoreans, themselves, catch and export are few. Azorean fishermen do not have the technology to compete with the factory fishing vessels used by the Japanese, Spanish and other European fishing concerns. While the European members of the EEC gain access to Azorean marine resources, there are few Azoreans involved in this sector of the economy. Less than 3% of Azoreans fish full-time.

Azorean Tourism

The Azores are considered an ideal setting for future tourism and much of the current development revolves around the expansion of the tourist industry. The main problem with the Azores as a tourist site is that the kind of weather that would attract tourists only exists in the Azores for three to four months of the year. The winters in the Azores are rainy and windy and tourists during this time frequently have no option but to spend their whole holiday in their hotels. The hotels have few facilities to amuse tourists and there is little night life on the islands. As a result, out of the 99,211 visitors to the Azores in 1987, 2/3 of them came to the islands through the months of April to September.⁹ Since such a large percentage of the

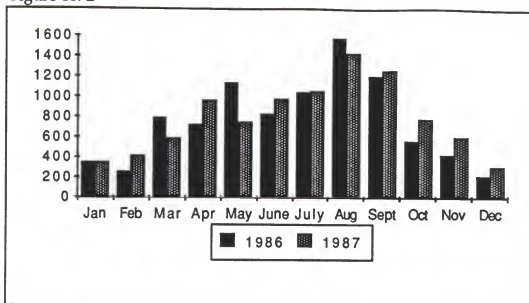
⁹ *Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores: Turismo*, No. 12, (1987).

visitors arrive at the same time, the hotel facilities are over-booked in the summer. Restaurants are also overcrowded during this period and tourists at times have to wait a number of hours to dine. Additional facilities are being built, but to expand the tourist industry so it would be profitable to the islands as a whole would necessitate a complete overhaul of the infrastructural system that supports the tourist industry. And then most of the facilities would remain underutilized for six months of the year.

At present, most of the visitors to the islands are continental Portuguese. In 1987, fellow Portuguese represented 81.5% of the visitors. Many of the Portuguese are business men who come to the islands as representatives of continental companies. The continental businessmen are primarily interested in selling the commodities from the companies that they represent and they view the Azores as a market outlet and not as a region to establish productive enterprise. For example, although the populations of Faial and Pico are about the same size (approximately 15,000), 9,478 continental Portuguese visited Faial in 1987 as opposed to the 5,506 that visited Pico.¹⁰ Pico is a common destination for day trips via ferry emanating from Faial, and some of these visitors were obviously mainland tourists who took advantage of Faial's better hotel facilities. But the continental businessman is a common sight on the streets of Horta as the consumer habits of Faial's inhabitants make the island a more attractive market than Pico.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Figure 11.2



Portuguese Visitors to Faial

Source: *Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores*, (1987).

The businessman is much more recognizable during the winter months than in the summer when he or she could be mistaken for other tourists. In Horta, the businessman negotiates with local merchants who then distribute the products to smaller shops around Faial and Pico. Since the purpose of the visit is to engage in commodity transactions and not to install local industry, the modern merchant who visits Faial is much like his historical counterpart who unloaded wares in Horta's harbor and depended on the island's economic and transportation network for the dispersal of the goods to the more remote parts of the islands. Air travel has increased the mobility of the merchant and some make circuits of the islands and spend a number of months in the Azores before returning to the continent. These types of visitors, while providing revenue for local hoteliers and restaurant owners, do not create jobs, they only fuel consumption patterns.

The next largest group of visitors to the islands are German tourists who account for 6.3% of total arrivals. The Germans come to the islands on

package tours that usually include a week in the Azores and a week or more on Madeira. A small tourist industry is beginning to emerge on Faial to cater to the needs of the Germans but this industry is run mainly by Germans who have moved to the islands to live. For example, a recently arrived German couple is in the process of building cottages on the outskirts of Horta to accommodate future tourists from Germany. And a local German woman acts as a guide for those who arrive on the excursion packages.

Smaller numbers of visitors come from Canada (1.4%) and the United States (2.8%). Many of the North American visitors to the islands are return migrants and their children.¹¹ The majority of the return migrants stay with relatives or in family homes and so except for the money they spend while on the islands their presence does not lead to the creation of jobs.

The most visible group of visitors belong to the yachting crowd whose number has increased immensely over the last fifteen years. About 800 yachts arrive annually to take advantage of the better yacht facilities that have been built in Horta over the last five years. The yachters spend money if they have it, but their presence on the islands basically serves to enrich a few local merchants. The yachters, even though they may spend from a few weeks to three months on Faial, have little interaction with the local islanders. The ones who manage to negotiate their way out of Peter's Cafe, the bar which serves as a meeting point for the yacht crowd, do so mainly to eat, and if the weather permits, to take a taxi ride around the island. If they are feeling particularly active they may take the ferry to Pico to purchase scrimshaw and take another taxi ride around the island. The taxi drivers and local restaurant owners profit from the yacht arrivals but those involved in these activities

¹¹ Ibid.

represent only a small part of the Faial's economically active labor force (probably less than 10%). The average resident of Faial or Pico has no contact with the yachters despite their very visible presence.

Tourism is locally considered a potential area of future economic growth, but if the current pattern persists the islanders will only be minimal participants in this endeavor. A large number of the residents of Faial and Pico still depend on peasant production to meet household consumption needs and while some produce a small surplus for the market, little of what they produce is for tourist consumption. Much of what the tourists eat is imported and does not involve the labor of the local farmer.

Peasants and Workers

Despite almost fifteen years of sustained development on the islands, Azoreans in 1988 rely almost as heavily on peasant commodity production as they did before the revolution. EEC development has reinforced the peasant economy rather than eliminated it. Even though there is a general ideological commitment to modernize Azorean society, the more dominant EEC nations benefit if economic development in peripheral regions such as the Azores proceeds at a slow pace.

Paul Knox outlines the general benefits that the transition from full time peasant holdings to part time peasant holdings presents to regions in Europe undergoing development. The transition from a rural to a modern way of life:

- 1) [provides] extra income for peasant families.
- 2) [provides] a modest source of capital for their farms.
- 3) [helps] to maintain rural population and a reasonable range of local services.
- 4) [helps] to ease the shortage of industrial labor without adding to the congestion and housing problems of cities.

5) generally looks like a medium 'by which the transition from a peasant to a capitalist society [can be] performed without a wholesale de-rooting of the rural population or a disruption of the rural community.¹²

In the Azores, Knox's first three conditions also substantially reduce the cost of development. The cost of living in the Azores is extremely high in comparison to the real wages workers in most occupations receive (see market tables and wage tables below). An average worker who earns 1500 escudos a day would have a difficult time feeding a family of four solely on his/her wages. The price of a kilo of meat ranges between 700 and 1200 escudos in local butcher stores, and tomatoes out-of-season can cost as much as 500 escudos a kilo in the market. By producing their own subsistence foods, the worker peasants reduce their domestic expenses considerably, and this allows them to use their wages to purchase modern conveniences, such as televisions, appliances and fashionable clothes. Azoreans today dress in all the latest modern styles despite the fact that a pair of jeans equals three days salary for the average worker. As a result, the maintenance of the peasant economy compliments market expansion by reducing the cost of household consumption and freeing available monies for commodity purchases.

In relation to Knox's conditions four and five, wages would have to be increased dramatically for most Azorean workers to be able to afford to move to the cities. Houses in Horta rent for between 50,000 and 100,000 *escudos* (when they are available) and the average worker earns 33,000 *escudos* a month. A two income rural family would only be able to relocate to the city if they devoted their entire incomes to rent. They would not, however, be able to eat. The perpetuation of the peasant economy also has a spatial dimension.

¹² P. Knox, *The Geography of Western Europe*, (London, 1984), 99.

On Faial, the logistics of traveling from the rural to the urban sector are neither difficult nor time consuming. On Faial there are regular buses that commute between the villages and Horta. In a car, travel from even the most remote part of the island to the city does not involve more than 30 minutes. On Pico, travel is a little more difficult but the the level of efficiency in the transportation sector is related to the availability of jobs in the urban centers of Madalena and Lajes. The peasants of Pico have little reason to travel to the island's cities on a regular basis.

The peasant economy contributes to household subsistence and generates income through the sale of cows. At least one or two members of the household also work at wage labor to supplement the household budget. The combined wage labor/peasant contribution to the household budget is crucial for the survival of the family group, but even these two sources are not enough to sustain the average Azorean household. The Azores have the lowest per capita income in Europe, yet many commodities available locally are three to four times more expensive in the Azores than they are in New York City. One may legitimately ask how an Azorean family whose wage earning members make on the average of \$10 to \$12 U. S. a day can afford to buy color television sets that cost over \$1,000 U. S and clothes that are so expensive they would tax the income of an American family with an average income of \$35,000.

State Subsidies

The economic system only works at present in the Azores because the subsidies that the government extends to almost all the islanders considerably augment their otherwise meager household incomes. The state provides subsidies for health and transportation, as well as for a large variety of social

benefits. The Portuguese subsidization system is based on two different political, and by association economic, strategies. These strategies are at times conflicting, and at other times complimentary. The subsidies that are related to social services such as old age pensions, invalid support and health service stem from the 1974 revolution and the socialist constitution that was drawn up after the revolution. According to socialist ideology, the state is a supportive agent which protects the interests of and provides maintenance for its citizens. Thus, labor laws were designed that protected the rights of the worker and ensured that all had access to basic social services. The subsidies that the EEC programs are supporting are derived from another ideological position. EEC agricultural subsidies are intended to reduce the economic trauma that the peasant will inevitably experience as he/she is incorporated into the modern sphere. For example, the cattle subsidies are supposed to diffuse the shock to the producer as the value of Azorean cattle products are gradually allowed to be determined by market dictates. Currently, both these subsidy supports are slowly being withdrawn on the Azores.

The retraction of the subsidies with full EEC integration will have a major impact on household dynamics.¹³ A family is entitled to significant assistance for child rearing as well as for the support of incapacitated members of the household. In some cases, the subsidies that are provided exceed the main wage earner's (usually the male head) actual income. In effect, the government serves as a patron in that it provides a support structure for members of the household who have no potential, either presently as in the

¹³ The movement from a welfare state to a participating member of the EEC requires the elimination of these subsidies. If labor, and this includes consumption, or production is supported artificially, this gives certain member nations a decisive advantage. Few people on Faial or Pico presently take the imminent removal of the subsidies seriously.

case of children, or permanently as for invalids, to earn income.

Theoretically, as a result of state intervention each member of the family is a contributor to the household budget. If the income of three or four of the members is withdrawn and there is no alternative offered either in terms of higher wages for those who are working or for the incorporation of now non-productive members into the labor force, the household will experience a crisis. The household is at present eligible for the following subsidies:

Complementary Assistance: from 1,250 to 2,000 *escudos* a month per individual under 24 years of age.

Family Assistance: depending on the size of the family, approximately 1,250 *escudos* per month for each child.

Milk Assistance: 2,450 *escudos* per month for each child.

Birth Subsidy: 13,350 *escudos* when the child is born.

Marriage Subsidy: 11,150 *escudos* and the government also provides additional assistance for housing if the couple requests it. For example, the government will provide money or materials if the couple wishes to build a house. There is, however, a long waiting list for housing subsidies, and the couple must supply the land.

Funeral Subsidy: the family receives 15,600 *escudos*.

Invalid Subsidies: up until age 16 - 3,150 *escudos*

16 to 18 - 4,620 *escudos*

18 to 24 - 6,190 *escudos*¹⁴

In addition to the above subsidies the family receives assistance in numerous other ways. Cattle are subsidized and a ceiling is maintained on the price of milk. The government provides educational support if students want to engage in technical studies. The government maintains a health service program. Travel to the continent is also provided to Azoreans at a special cost. Without these additional supports many families in the Azores

¹⁴ The figures were provided by the office of the Secretário Regional dos Assuntos Sociais. the data are approximate for 1988 as the amounts are continually being revised.

today would not be able to live as comfortably as they do. The quality of life has improved considerably since the revolution, but the resources for social development have been supported by external agents.

The Azores can be best described as a consumer society with little actual productive output. So the strategy that wages will rise in relation to prices is an objective that will be difficult to realize on the islands. Foremost, the government controls wages so these cannot rise on their own to accommodate increasing prices. Much of the development that has taken place on the Azores has been in the service sector but the subsidies that support this development are slowly being withdrawn and EEC integration will probably contribute to a decline in labor involvement in this area.

Labor on Pico and Faial

Labor input in the primary sector has declined precipitously over the last quarter century in the Azores. Between 1950 and 1981, labor involved in primary activity in the Azores decreased from 60 to 31.5%. During the same period, labor activity in the tertiary sector expanded from 23.3% to 43.3%.¹⁵ The change in Azorean labor patterns is related to both outmigration and national government economic policy. Outmigration has reduced the Azorean population and government programs supported by European Economic Community (EEC) capital have created a large number of jobs in the service sector for those still on the islands. As a result, while there has been enormous labor loss from the primary sector due to outmigration, the labor in this sector has not been replaced through the assimilation of the younger generation of Azoreans into the agricultural labor force. This labor,

¹⁵ DREPA, *População e Emprego*, (1984).

however, has also not flowed into areas related to productive output. The service sector jobs depend on the continuous flow of developmental capital and while labor has successfully been diverted, at least part-time, from the primary sector, the economic policies of the EEC have stimulated local consumption but no productive agenda to pay for the increased imports.

Pico and Faial have changed radically since the islands were depopulated through outmigration in the sixties. Although both islands have been exposed to developmental fever, Faial has undergone the greater change. As Tables 11. 1 and 11. 2 elucidate, the transition from an agrarian based economy to a modern society have been uneven on the two islands. The tables below outline the extent of labor movement from the primary sector to the tertiary sector on the islands of Faial and Pico over a period of thirty years.

Table 11. 1
Labor Activities on Faial

Category	1950	1960	1970	1981	Difference	%
Agriculture	4199	3405	2060	1245	-2954	-70.3
Fishing and Hunting	308	272	150	105	-203	-65.9
Primary Industry	3			—	-3	-100.0
Secondary Industry	542	592	440	446	-96	-17.7
Utilities	19	23	5	66	+47	+247.3
Construction	587	803	435	522	-65	-11%
Commerce, Tourism, and Transportation	804	793	965	1161	+357	+44.4
Administration and Defense	551	498	565	1255	+704	+127.7
Various Services	866	609	655	316	-550	-63.5
<u>Total</u>	7879	7006	5280	5117	-2762	-35.0

Source: DREPA, *Faial Caracterização*, (1985).

Table 11. 2
Labor Activities on Pico

Category	1950	1960	1970	1981	Difference	%
Agriculture	5820	5723	4470	2151	-3669	-63.0
Fishing and Hunting	538	635	400	266	-272	-50.5
Primary Industry	5	1	-----	-----	-5	-100.0
Secondary Industry	447	339	360	385	-62	-13.8
Utilities	3	-----	-----	51	+48	+1600.0
Construction	318	311	205	798	+480	+150.9
Commerce, Tourism, and Transportation	424	452	475	562	+138	+32.5
Administration and Defense	116	109	120	252	+132	+113.7
Various Services	284	264	230	496	+212	+74.6
<u>Total</u>	7955	7834	6260	4962	-2933	-36.8

Source: DREPA, *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

The changing labor patterns on Faial and Pico reflect two major trends in recent Azorean history. The first trend that contributed to changing labor patterns was outmigration. Migration to the United States and Canada during postwar expansion in North America resulted in a shift in agricultural strategies on the islands. Animal husbandry replaced wheat cultivation as the former was less labor intensive than harvesting wheat with traditional technology which required the participation of the whole family. Fishing and hunting have also declined. Today, while there are still full-time fishermen, rabbit hunting is primarily a part-time pursuit. Outmigration, then was the original catalyst for the decline in labor involvement in agricultural activity on Faial and Pico.

Still, while outmigration emptied the agricultural sector, there were no corresponding increases in labor involvement in other sectors of the economy during the fifties and sixties when most of the migrants left the

islands. It was not until after the revolution that the Azorean economy was revitalized and labor began to be deployed for other pursuits besides agricultural production. It has been during the last fifteen years that the peasant economy has been transformed. This transformation, as has been the case throughout Azorean history, was generated by external forces--larger agents of change that dictated the types of productive relations that would bring the Azores into the modern era.

Capital from the EEC, primarily channeled through FEDER, a European agency for regional development, is being employed on both of the islands to develop an infrastructural base that will facilitate future development. FEDER has allocated over 37 million dollars to the building and renovating of roads, airports and ports in the Azores.¹⁶ Finding the labor for these projects, however, is a more difficult task than attracting capital at present. The Azores with its long history as a labor exporter, ironically is in a position today where labor needs to be imported.

The diversion of labor into areas intended to enhance EEC participation has caused an acute labor shortage in other sectors. Labor loss in the primary sector can, in part, be attributed to outmigration, as many of those who migrated in the fifties and sixties were peasants. But the large decline in agricultural labor is also the result of the movement of labor into the tertiary sector to take advantage of opportunities created through the influx of EEC development capital. Labor loss in the primary sector may be permanent as there are not very many young Azoreans who see themselves as future farmers. Since the subsidies and the market for cows are slowly being

¹⁶ "Feder atribui 5.4 milhões para os Açores" in *Telégrafo*, Oct. 14, (1987).

withdrawn, fewer Azoreans will consider cattle raising profitable once EEC integration takes place.

Tables 11. 1 and 11. 2 are deceiving in a number of aspects. Foremost, they do not list wage laborers who are involved in more than one activity. A government employee may supplement his earnings by fishing on weekends and holidays and selling part of the catch to neighbors or friends. The decline in labor participation in agricultural activity is also somewhat paradoxical for while there has been labor loss in this sector there has also been a simultaneous increase in the export of certain agricultural products. Many government employees who live in the rural areas commute to work in Horta, but also keep livestock for sale and home consumption. These workers would not qualify for EEC subsidies related to agriculture because the support is intended for full-time peasants who are about to experience the loss of their way of life. The workers thus register their cows in their wives' names who do qualify as peasants if they do not hold wage jobs.

Almost all rural households also keep vegetable gardens and by definition work related to subsistence pursuits should be labeled agricultural. In a Third World context these types of labor strategies would be categorized as a peasant/proletariat dialog. In Europe many theorists prefer the terminology of worker-farmer or "five o'clock farmers" to describe peasants who have acquired a second source of income through wage employment. Whatever the terminology, Azorean rural households, even though the male members have wage jobs, would not be able to survive if there was not significant agricultural input into the household economy.

There are fewer men now involved in construction related activity on Faial. This presents a problem for local development on the island because as Azoreans become more involved in wage labor and gain access to credit, they

will want to remodel present homes and build new ones. The shortage of carpenters particularly affects return migrants who return to the islands in old age and want to renovate their homes. Construction workers are also needed to build hotels and other infrastructural supports for tourism. The shortage of labor in this sector has forced developers to import laborers from Lisbon and the Cape Verdes to help build a large addition to the Hotel Faial.

The aversion many Faialense have towards carpentry reflects their new economic prosperity. Construction work is regarded as migrant activity and few Azoreans, return migrants or ones who never left, aspire to be carpenters or builders. On Faial the shortage of carpenters is so severe that people requiring construction help may need to wait a year or more before anyone is available. Many of the carpenters on Faial also do not have the skills, or the inclination, to renovate or repair the older structures. There is a carpentry school on the island of São Miguel and the government pays carpenters' apprentices to study there. A few employees from a local family firm are taking advantage of this opportunity. But in general the Faialense do not like to do construction work.

On Pico, on the other hand, carpentry is still perceived as a viable and respectable economic pursuit. Sons are following their fathers into the trade and the positive attitude to this particular form of work reflects economic opportunities on the island. Migrants who left their ancestral island impoverished are returning with the savings that they have accumulated over the years to build what can only be described as mansions. Where the tendency on Faial is for return migrants to remodel existing homes, on Pico the peasant stone structures are being torn down to make way for two and sometimes three-story homes with all the amenities of modern life. The labor that stayed behind is thus used to fulfill the lifelong dreams of those

who left and have now returned. Pico's peasant turned worker is thus exposed to the long-term benefits accrued through long-term participation in wage labor in a cruel way. The cultural artifacts that are now readily available on Faial are still curiosities on Pico for many of the islanders. As would be expected, the islander who stayed and did not migrate when there was an open opportunity continually needs to answer to himself, and at times to his family, why he did not go.

There is a different perception towards money on Pico because it is still somewhat synonymous with the migrant journey. On Faial much of what could previously only be obtained through migration is now obtainable through wage labor. Shops on the main street of Horta display all the fashionable commodities that are the rage in Europe. True, they are very expensive but the sons of peasants who work in government offices need to legitimize and visibly present their social ascendancy. So even though this nouveau technocrat class on Faial cannot find economic independence by divorcing themselves from the familial household, they can signal their new status through commodity display. Previously, it was the domain of the migrant class with their well earned dollars to exhibit the ostentatious symbols that exhibit success in the modern world. They would come home with their cars and appliances to show the world, as they define it, that they have succeeded.

On Pico, there is limited social mobility. The time to migrate to Faial to take advantage of the socio-economic vacuum created through migration is past. When the previous generation of Picoense moved to Faial the cost of living was still manageable. One could establish an independent household, find a job and define one's social niche. But today because of the high cost of living, it is difficult for a worker from Pico to move to Faial to work. To earn

money one needs a job but to live on the islands one needs a family. The jobs on Faial are there but the families are absent. I asked a carpenter who was experiencing financial problems why he did not go to Faial to work as there were plenty of jobs available for carpenters on the island. He replied that he would prefer to go to Canada. He listed the large bank accounts of return migrants and thought that if he or one of his sons would migrate his economic problems would be resolved. Faial to him was not an option. He could travel over on a daily basis by ferry and thus avoid the high cost of living on the island, but while the ferry leaves at a respectable hour in the morning it returns in the middle of the afternoon and there would not be enough time for the worker to finish his/her shift.

Following the revolution, electricity, and in some villages, water was installed for the first time on both the islands of Pico and Faial. While there has been increased opportunities for jobs in utilities, the electric generators that are used as an energy source require only minimal attention so this sector of the economy is unlikely to expand. Local islanders now also have telephones, but this again is a sector of the economy that does not need a great deal of labor power. Besides even though the government statistically categorizes these activities in the secondary class they are service sector activities that generate no revenue.

The biggest difference in labor utilization between Faial and Pico has been the recruitment of labor for the tertiary sector. On Faial, there has been increased labor involvement in banking and commerce to permit the establishment of a basic network with the rest of the community. The logic is that since Faial has the better port, the facilities should be expanded on this island first. Labor opportunities related to enhanced social status are greater in number on Faial than they are on Pico. The increase in social services

reflects the policies of the socialist constitution. Most Azoreans receive some form of assistance from the government and the management of these subsidies requires a substantial number of workers. It is labor from this sector that the government would like to divert to secondary production.

The development of the local tourist industry is another important priority and the government encourages the people in this occupational category to take language classes and obtain other skills that will strengthen the support structure that offers facilities for future tourists. In the village on Faial there is a road and a parking lot being built along the beach in anticipation of future tourist trade. Pico is also being developed for tourism and a new apartment hotel is being built in Madalena. Much of the present tourist trade on Pico is directed from Faial where there is a large tourist office and experienced personnel to provide guided tours. Thus, if a journalist is to be given a tour of Pico, it is not a native of the island who introduces the writer to Pico but a member of the tourist office in Faial.

One of the occupations not included in either Tables 11. 1 and 11. 2 is dockworkers. The dockworkers belong to the stevedore union and can through the power of this membership shut down all commodities coming into or leaving the island. Many of the dockworkers are only part-time laborers in that they only work when the container ships arrive at port.

The EEC and the Azorean Agricultural System

The system of agricultural exploitation and crop management utilized in the Azores is, for the most part, extremely ecologically efficient. Agricultural technology that was introduced when the islands were first settled is still used by many farmers to till the land. Cash cropping in the first two centuries of settlement and again in the nineteenth century lead to

massive deforestation on the islands, but since the decline of citrus exports 150 years ago there has been no serious challenge to the ecology of Pico and Faial. In line with EEC objectives, the traditional way of agricultural management is now being modernized. One of the first steps in the modernization program is to introduce technology that will replace animal traction and human labor in agricultural activity. Government officials would like to see tractors replace cows in the Azorean rural sector.¹⁷

There are, however, certain ecological constraints on Faial and Pico which impede the mechanization of agriculture. Because of the system of land segmentation and the hilly terrain, cows and human labor are the most efficient energy sources in the agricultural sector. But working the land is time consuming and interferes with other labor pursuits and so many Azoreans eagerly embrace the new technology. There are already tractors on the Azores and if the land is accessible many islanders prefer to hire a tractor to till the land. Contracting machinery is more popular on Faial than on Pico. On Pico, the use of tractors is still limited by the stone fences that separate individual parcels of property. Small mini-tractors might present a means to introduce technology that is compatible with the terrain but this technology is more appropriate for Faial, where there are large fields, than Pico, where the plots are small and segmented. The small tractors are currently being used on a limited scale on Faial.

Because many individual properties are dispersed, there are social as well as logistical obstacles to mechanization. If an Azorean landowner wished to use a tractor, the land of others would have to be transversed

¹⁷ F. Pereira in *Agricultura Açoreana*, (Lisbon, 1982) lists the EEC directives created for the modernization of the Azorean agricultural sector. Pereira sees the Azorean cultural psyche as an obstacle to modernization (55).

which would cause numerous problems. Permission would need to be obtained and some sort of road would need to be built to gain access to the fields. There is local conversation about a government plan to join the dispersed individual holdings so that each farmer would own a unified plot. This plan would make it viable for farmers to use modern technology on their land.

Even though some enterprising Azoreans are experimenting with the new technology and have bought tractors and hire themselves out to others to plow their land for potato cultivation, there is little incentive for individual farmers to purchase a tractor that would only be used a number of times each year.

Livestock Industry

Cattle raising is the major agricultural enterprise in the Azores today. While cattle have always been an important part of Azorean life, it was not until recently, after outmigration reduced the amount of labor on the islands, that cattle became an important economic mainstay. The decrease in population and the availability of land has increased the fortunes of many residents who did not migrate. Cattle raising was thus a convenient solution to the loss of labor that occurred as a result of outmigration. Today, the way of life that evolved with the cow industry is also being threatened. The EEC as a community has enough cow producing nations and countries such as Denmark, Germany and France would like to retain a monopoly on the beef and dairy industry. Already meat and chickens are being imported to the Azores from Denmark.

Cavaco Silva frequently mentioned during his campaign in 1987 that with EEC integration, the Portuguese would have to reduce the number of

small cow farms. One of Cavaco Silva's campaign slogans was "no more two cow family farms." Shortly after Silva was elected, the cattle industry in the Azores began to experience difficulties. The biggest problem was that the local industries were not paying the local producers for the milk. The dairies kept collecting the milk they just did not pay the producers. Finally, many producers stopped giving their milk to the dairies. This was a major setback for many Azoreans who had come to depend on the money from the milk as a regular wage that they received.

The livestock industry has grown substantially since the 1974 revolution and this growth together with increased employment in the tertiary sector, has allowed Azoreans to prosper. Cattle exports doubled in the first ten years after the revolution and cattle butchered on the Azores increased by 54%. The amount of milk entering local dairies has also increased. But much of the profits from the cattle industry leave the islands along with the cows and those dairy products exported. The majority of the dairy products are produced on São Miguel and Terceira, but Faial, São Jorge, Pico, Graciosa and Flores all have small dairies. The cheeses from Pico, Faial and São Jorge are popular in migrant communities in the United States and Canada. The major dairy exports to the continent are powdered milk, cheese and butter.

Table 11. 3
Livestock Production on the Azores

Year	Slaughtered Cattle	Exported live
1975	3,742	7,017
1976	4,336	7,440
1977	3,681	6,923
1978	5,429	8,052
1979	5,083	14,378
1980	4,405	10,627
1981	4,612	13,418
1982	6,331	13,981
1983	7,052	10,000
1984	8,140	10,161
1985	8,112	14,548

Source: Drepa 1986 *Açores em Números: 10 Anos de Autonomia*

Table 11. 4
Dairy Products Produced on the Azores

Year	Natural Milk	Ultra Pasturazied	Powdered Milk	Cheese	Butter
1975	6,797	363	9,134	3,479	2,274
1976	7,570	1,645	9,074	3,836	2,463
1977	8,929	2,035	9,441	4,527	1,749
1978	10,819	2,285	10,621	2,860	1,979
1979	11,682	2,866	11,301	4,730	2,545
1980	11,890	9,146	10,035	5,615	2,325
1981	12,847	9,348	9,980	6,497	1,793
1982	13,128	13,068	10,787	6,632	2,207
1983	13,250	11,055	11,579	6,847	2,955
1984	13,231	11,475	9,974	7,518	2,578
1985	13,319	10,358	10,034	7,204	2,943
1986	12,755	10,398	11,175	7,298	2,965

Source: Drepa 1986 *Açores em Números 10 Anos de Autonomia* and 1987 *Situação Socioeconómica*.

*The figures for natural and boxed milk (ultra-pasteurized) are by volume (1 x 1000 liters), powdered milk, cheese and butter are in weights by tonnage.

The regional government has been petitioning for the creation of a local slaughterhouse to increase employment on the islands since before the second world war, but except for a few isolated incidences when slaughterhouses have been opened periodically, the government in Lisbon has not been receptive to these overtures. If the islands had their own *matadouro*, they would receive higher returns from the cattle as the cows would be fattened and then slaughtered on the islands. A local slaughterhouse would also create jobs on a number of different levels for administrators and laborers could be recruited from the local labor pool. Now, Azoreans primarily act as shepherds and are in terms of labor contribution involved in only one stage of the productive process. The dairy business is mechanized and very few Azoreans are involved in this aspect of the productive process.

Representatives from slaughterhouses on the continent and local middlemen buy the cattle from Azorean farmers and take them to Lisbon for sale. When the cattle are taken to Lisbon they lose considerable weight on the trip, so potential profits are lost. The middlemen take this weight loss into account when they purchase cows in the Azores and so it is the producer who loses and not the buyer.

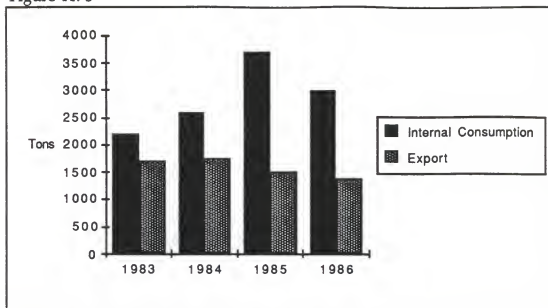
While all nine islands are economically dependent on cattle raising, the major cattle islands are São Miguel, São Jorge, Terceira and Faial. According to government figures, 73% of those involved in cattle raising on these four islands have between one and nine cows; 17% have between 10 and 19 cows; and 8.5% have between 20 and 49 cows. Only 1.2% of the producers on the islands have over 50 cows.¹⁸ While the four above islands

¹⁸ "Açores: 9732 Explorações Leiteiras e 69264 Vacas," in *Telêgrafo*, October 23, 1987.

have been grouped together for statistical purposes, the percentages do not represent the actual categories of cow ownership on each of the islands. For example, on Terceira there are larger herds of cattle than on Faial and the method of cattle grazing on each of the islands reflects the herd size. On Terceira the cattle are left to openly graze on large fields and once a particular field is exhausted the cattle are then moved *en masse* to another field. The cattle are herded down the island's roads and frequently interfere with traffic. On Pico and Faial, cattle are raised in smaller numbers and they are carefully watched so as not to overgraze on any given piece of land. The different strategies of cattle management is apparent in the landscape. Terceira's fields are a dullish brown from overgrazing while the pasture lands on both Faial and Pico are a luxuriant green.

As would be expected in a cattle raising region, some of the beef is locally consumed. Many of the cattle that are slaughtered are butchered by rural families for their own consumption but even these families only eat beef on special occasions. Beef in the city markets is very expensive and few Azoreans could afford to purchase meat on a regular basis; beef costs between 700 and 1300 *escudos* a kilo and the average Azorean only earns 1800 *escudos* a day. Consequently, for the whole year of 1985 consumption was only 13,8 kilos per capita for the whole Azores.

Figure 11.3



Cattle Production for the Azores

Source: DREPA *Situação Socioeconómica* (1986), 36; (1987), 39.

Prologue

The Azores did not receive independence after the revolution. Rather, the islands were granted a limited autonomy that allowed the islanders a small degree of self-determination in regard to how their future would unfold. That this future would be decided in Brussels, Belgium, the headquarters of the European Community, is a symbolic overture to the true relations that have historically existed between the Azores and other nations in continental Europe. The integrational policies of the EEC suggest that the Azores are a remote hinterland about to be rescued by those nation-states which have gone through the proper political and economic exercises to achieve the status of highly developed nations. However, the Azorean economy has historically been defined by economic imperatives that emanated from Europe and the islands present status in the modern world as an underdeveloped region is a result of this economic dialog.

As EEC economists sit in conference rooms in Brussels devising policies that will unite regions such as the Azores with the modern world, they are probably unaware that similar negotiations took place over five centuries ago. In the fifteenth century trade agreements were solidified by the exchange of royal mates. The marriage of Isabel, the sister of Henry the Navigator, and Philip the Duke of Burgundy in 1430 officially cemented Portuguese and Flemish interests. As a result of this political pact, Flemish merchants, settlers and overlords came to the central islands of the Azores. Today, the methods of political discourse are much more formal and what were previously known as merchants now hold the more prestigious title of economic advisers. But whether the title is fifteenth century merchant or twentieth century economic adviser, their interest in the Azores was (is) motivated by a singular purpose--to direct productivity activity on the islands. One could figuratively say that the Flemish are coming.

MODERNIZATION AND THE PEASANT ECONOMY

In this chapter I outline community structure and land usages methods on the islands of Pico and Faial. While EEC expansion has produced economic change on the islands, the influx of developmental capital has also reinforced the peasant economy. Through the uneven nature of the current phase of capitalist expansion many Azoreans have been incorporated into the wage labor force on the islands but the wages they earn are not sufficient to support a household budget. While the discussion focuses specifically on the peasant economy of the islands of Pico and Faial it has implications for the Azores as a whole.

The Peasant Community

Anthropologists have radically changed their definition of what constitutes a community over the last quarter of a century. Robert Redfield saw the traditional peasant community as a bounded entity; as a holdover of the "little tradition", where relations were largely proscribed by an internal dynamic. In the last two decades, anthropologists have increasingly come to view the community as a microcosm of a larger universe where variables such as class, the state and the world economy define community structure

and set the limitations and possibilities for the community's interaction within a larger sphere.¹

Socio-economic changes in the Portuguese community parallel these changes in the anthropological orientation to community studies. The corporate structure Salazar designed to prioritize societal congruity and harmony in Portugal is commonly labeled fascism, but his policies reflected popular currents in social science tradition. Ever since Emile Durkheim introduced the idea of mechanical solidarity to the social science literature, there has been a tendency on the part of social scientists to focus on the insularity of the communities that they study.² Under Salazar, the Azorean community could be perceived as a self contained entity. Salazar, through the installment of *casas do povo*, encouraged self-sufficiency in agriculture, a political strategy that ensured minimal local contact with the external world. And since Salazar attributed the decline of the Portuguese empire to the national incorporation of universalisms (such as liberalism, communism and socialism) in the late nineteenth century, he stressed a return to tradition and solidarity.³

Jorge Dias, a Portuguese anthropologist, found just such an insular community in rural continental Portugal after the second world war. In the small village of Vilarinho da Furna (250 inhabitants), the sexual division of labor was well defined and the type of social organization found in the village was generally characteristic of peasant communities. But Dias also

¹ Blok, (1974) examines the emergence of *mafioso* relations in Sicily within the context of the Italian national arena. J. Schneider and P. Schneider (1976), examine the development of social relations in relation to developments in the political economy of southern Europe.

² Durkheim, (1966).

³ Salazar saw the Republican period where popular liberal currents of European culture were adopted by the Portuguese as contributing to the trade deficit.

documented the patterns of outmigration from the region, and how migrants with a "little money" would return to the village of their birth to arrange a wife and to retire.⁴ The impact of the external world on village life, that Dias describes, was to take on a new magnitude when full-scale outmigration from Portuguese communities began again during the postwar period.

The Azorean village during the Salazar era was in many respects similar to Vilarinho da Furna. Due to massive outmigration and changes in national economic strategy the Azorean community has, however, undergone a radical transformation since the overthrow of the Salazar regime.⁵ But while community structure has been transformed through increased contact with the modern sphere, an element of tradition still remains. Within walking distance of five minutes outside the islands' cities, the observer can witness conflicting ways of life that reveal the chasm that exists between the old and the new. In the Azores in 1988, accountants in new European cars pass peasants on donkeys. New, modern migrant homes are being built alongside traditional peasant homes. Today, even most of the traditional households have television sets, and many Azoreans are already replacing the black and white sets purchased a little more than a decade ago with color models. (There was no television in the Azores during Salazar's era.) Videocassette recorders are also becoming popular. The children of peasants work in banks and government offices and wear the latest European fashions. Much of this is quite shocking to return migrants who recall their childhood when there was not even enough money to purchase shoes.

⁴ J. Dias, *Vilarinho Da Furna: Uma Aldeia Comunitária*,

⁵ The ethnographic information for the following essays are taken from two communities on the Azorean islands of Pico and Faial.

There are now reasonable opportunities for employment on the islands, and commodities that previously could be obtained only through migrant labor are within the reach of the average Azorean. The younger generation of Azoreans does not, for the most part, perceive migration as a necessary, or desirable, option. The craving for adventure abroad seems to have abated with this younger generation who appear to be content to build their lives on the islands.

Local money making opportunities have affected the way Azoreans interact with each other. There has been what Azoreans describe as a deterioration of personal relations as the acquisition of commodities has become a more important priority than the cultivation of social interaction. During the Salazar era, people exchanged things and human relations were more personal. Before, people did things for each other and now they work only for money. All people want to do now is to buy things. The increase in employment opportunities in commerce and the service industry has contributed to a decline in labor in critical areas. Azoreans are too busy working to engage in reciprocal or communal labor. As a result, even finding labor to perform the simplest task is a difficult endeavor.

How the money economy, through the introduction of local wage labor opportunities, has impacted on island life is evident in the differences between certain communities on Pico and Faial. Because Horta is the district seat, development capital earmarked for the area as a whole is used first to create jobs and develop industry on Faial. While there is some industry on Pico, such as the expansion of harbor facilities in Madalena a small port across the channel from Horta, the opportunities for work in the expanding service sector are much greater on Faial than they are on Pico. As a result, some residents from Pico have migrated to Faial to work.

Due to these differential opportunities for wage labor, one can speak in a general sense of a peasant economy for Pico and a proletariat economy for Faial. The categories of peasant and proletariat in this case are ideal constructs for there are proletarians in the peasant village and peasants in the proletariat village on both of the islands. In the community on Pico, while many of the inhabitants work at wage employment, the full transition to a proletariat way of life had not yet occurred. On Faial, while most houses rely on subsistence agriculture, there is a dependency on wage labor not found in the village on Pico. The difference between the two villages is related to the intensity of contact with the outside world. Eric Hobsbawn writes that:

The first main advance of the social division of labour consists of the separation of industrial and commercial from agricultural labour, and therefore leads to the distinction between and opposition of town and country.⁶

The transition from a peasant life to the life of the "free labourer" involves more than a distinction in how surplus is expropriated. The wage earner's almost total participation in a money economy subjects him/her to the vagaries of the market economy in a more direct way. Increases in prices in a community dependent on wage labor are experienced more directly than in a community where peasant relations prevail. In the former, money is a necessity, while in the latter, money is a luxury.⁷

⁶ E. Hobsbawn, "Introduction", *Precapitalist Economic Formations*, (New York, 1977), 27.

⁷ T. Shanin, in "The Nature and Logic of the Peasant Economy," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, (1973), Vol. 1, No. 1., writes that in the peasant economy money is limited because of "direct consumption and limited resources" Money becomes a necessity first through the "demands of rent and taxes" and then becomes more important as market relations are increased which promotes "the development of new needs" (75).

The attitude toward money is one difference between life in a peasant village and life in an economically mobile village where wage labor is the pattern rather than the exception. The social attitude of the peasant is reinforced out of necessity, because except for periodic excursions into the labor market and the sale of a small surplus, the peasant has little opportunity to acquire money. An old man in the peasant village, in a conversation about the rising price of cigarettes, succinctly described the difference between someone dependent on wage labor and someone who still retains control of his/her labor power. What does he care if market prices increase and there are no jobs? He can grow and make everything he needs. He grows his own tobacco and rolls his cigarettes with corn leaves. Those who buy cigarettes and depend on the market, he says, are *mato ratos*.⁸

Social Change and Development

In order to understand how EEC developmental capital has transformed life in the Azorean community, the social units through which individuals interact with each other need to be demarcated. While the opportunities for wage labor are much greater on Faial than they are on Pico, some aspects of peasant social organization have actually been strengthened on both of the islands through the interaction of capitalist expansion and peasant commodity production. There are a number of different theoretical positions as to how capitalist penetration impacts on the social units that engage in commodity production. Chevalier argues that household relations are totally undermined through commodity production and that even commodities that do not enter the market sphere are ultimately subjected to

⁸ The closest English translation of this term would be "one who has lost control of his/her life."

market dictates.⁹ Harriet Friedman, on the other hand, maintains that while market interaction through commodity production polarizes inter-household interaction within the community, the laws of value do not impinge on social relations in the domestic unit itself. To Friedman, in communities where household production for the commodity market is the pattern, individual households function as socially independent enterprises as all economic ties except those related to market interaction have been severed.¹⁰

On Pico and Faial, households are the active economic units, and social relations between households on the community level have been diffused through continuous market participation. However, rather than view the household as a unit that has somehow resisted the onslaught of capitalist penetration, it is more productive in the Azorean context to see independent household production as a response to capitalist expansion. Thus, the Azorean household conforms to Friedman's definition of the household as an enterprise. However, all members of the Azorean household contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the production of the commodity before it enters the sphere of market circulation. The Azorean household is an interdependent unit and its composition is closely related to recent capitalist expansion in the region.

The communities on Pico and Faial can be seen as representing different phases of the developmental process. Because of the concentration of capital on Faial, the induction into market relations is much more advanced on this island than it is on Pico. But participation in a wage

⁹ J. Chevalier, *Civilization and the Stolen Gift*, (Toronto, 1972).

¹⁰ H. Friedman, "Household Production and the National Economy," in *Journal of Peasant Studies*, (1980), Vol. 7, No. 2. A synthesis of the two positions is presented by W. Lem, "Household Production and Reproduction in Rural Languedoc," *Journal of Peasant Studies*, (1988), Vol. 15, No. 4.

economy alone is not adequate criteria to measure the impact of market relations on community life on the two islands. The peasant household by definition produces both for subsistence needs and for the market. The majority of the residents on Pico and Faial are, according to the above definition, peasants. Almost all rural families on both Pico and Faial keep large gardens and raise cattle for sale on the market. But in addition, most households have one or two members who work at full-time wage labor. There is a difference between the two islands, however, in the intensity of this dialog with the market. Increased market participation, as Teodor Shanin writes, spawns new needs.¹¹ The two communities are best understood, then, in terms of the perception of these needs. On Faial, the relationship between labor and commodity acquisition is much more defined as the purchase of the commodity is seen as the logical reward of the labor process. Faial in this way is representative of what the Azores as a whole will become through EEC integration. Pico, in many ways, still represents what the Azores were prior to the influx of developmental monies. Money, on Pico, is the desired result of the labor process for it is used to satisfy particular needs, but these needs are related to the reproduction of the household and not for the purchase of commodities unessential for this reproduction.

Social Organization ¹²

The terminological distinctions that I make in the following section are as follows: 1) The extended family is the corporate unit through which labor is mobilized. Membership in the extended family is defined by consanguineal and affinal relations and not by residential criteria. For example, a son-in-law

¹¹ Shanin, (1973).

¹² The following section was prepared in collaboration with Roberta Goldman.

who lives in the city of Horta can be recruited to help with domestic labor on his in-law's family farm. The extended family also includes relations in migrant communities in North America, for migrants are included in inheritance and draw on the extended family's labor pool when they return to the islands. When away, the migrants frequently send home money to renovate their houses. 2) The household is a spatial unit and includes members who live in the same residential domain as well as those who reside nearby in separate houses on family land. Including nearby familial residential units within the broader category of household allows one to distinguish between different residential types. Neolocal residence, an ideal type of residence encouraged by government programs, is associated with economic independence. But most Azoreans cannot afford to establish an independent household so they build their own houses on family land. Besides being economically practical, being close to family members confers other advantages on the household as a whole. Children can be taken care of by the grandmother if the mother works and if there is work on the land the male members can be mobilized.

The above social units are reinforced through the rising cost of living on the islands. Because of the current high cost of land and food prices in the Azores today, it would be almost impossible for a couple to establish an independent household if they had to rely solely on their salaries. Thus, despite the fragmentation of social relations on the community level, the communal nature of the extended family has been perpetuated out of economic necessity. In some ways notions of private property have infiltrated the corporate unit, as even individuals who live in the same household are becoming possessive of personal objects that have been purchased with the salaries from wage labor.

The residential unit in the Azorean village is the household, which is probably more accurately referred to as a household compound for it can consist of a cluster of houses. The household, depending on the stage of the developmental cycle of the domestic group, usually consists of three generations. While all members contribute to the household income, their individual inputs vary considerably. The household can be divided into a senior generation, intermediate generation and junior generation. The members of the household labor pool is distributed across the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the islands' economic base.

Senior Generation

The senior generation refers to the older members of the household, most of whom do not currently engage in full-time wage labor activity. Included in this category are the grandparents and frequently their single or widowed brothers and sisters. This generation's members, if over 65, receive income from a local governmental pension plan and sometimes benefits from Canadian and U. S. retirement plans if they have worked in North America. Azorean peasants who have never worked at wage labor receive 8,600 *escudos* in old age pensions through the Social Security program. These pensions are administered through the *casas do povo*. Pensioners who have worked for wages, and whose employers have contributed to the social security program on their behalf, can receive from 15,170 to 45,490 *escudos* from the general administration (what islanders refer to as the *caixa*). The

variation in benefits is based on their former salary scales. Agricultural wage workers, receive a little more (9,600 escudos) than peasants.¹³

The male members of the older generation may contribute to household income by looking after the cows and tending the vegetable gardens. On both Faial and Pico almost 60% of labor in the primary sector is over fifty years of age. Participation in the primary sector does not involve much heavy labor input nor is it a very capital intensive enterprise, so labor involvement in this sector is perfectly suited to those nearing retirement or to those already living on pensions. The sale of the cows do, however, provide significant revenue for the household. So while the actual contribution of the older generation may appear to be minimal, it is quite substantial in economic terms. The sale of two cows is equivalent to an average year's income. Women in the senior generation, as well as drawing pensions, contribute to domestic labor.

Intermediate Generation

Although the house (if everyone resides in the same domain) frequently belongs to the senior generation, the intermediate generation is the referential point for the household and is the medium through which the other two generations are connected. This generation is typically a husband and wife between the ages of 25 and 55 who are living with either one of the spouse's parents. The ideal household is thus comprised of one set of grandparents, the parents and the latter's children. In some cases, the parents have themselves become grandparents while they still hold jobs.

¹³ The amounts are from *O Telégrafo*, Nov.4, 1987, a Horta daily newspaper. The above pensions went into effect Dec. 1, 1987 and they represented an increase in pension payments of about 13%.

Women in this generation are responsible for cooking for the entire family and other household domestic work. Some women in this group engage in full-time wage labor but more often these women will work outside the home temporarily when work is available. These women also help with agricultural activity at times of peak labor necessity. Men of this generation usually hold a wage job as well as help with the more arduous farm activity. These men rise at 5 a.m. and milk the cows, arrive at work by 8 a.m., and return at 6 p.m. to milk the cows again. The male members of the senior generation watch and change the pasturage of the cows during the intervening hours.

Junior Generation

If the adult members of the junior generation are single, they work at wage labor and contribute to the household through the purchase of household items or contributions of money. If they are married and have the resources to build a house, they may take up residence in a new house that is in close proximity to the familial household. The new house is almost always built on family land. It is also common for young, married couples to temporarily inhabit a house left vacant by migrant relatives. This pattern will probably continue in the future because of escalating land prices and the high cost of living completely independently.

Independent Households

Migrants who return to the islands after a considerable absence may live in an independent household. These migrants have sufficient savings and live off the interest of these savings. They keep a subsistence plot and pigs, chickens and some cows. Azoreans who have never migrated, or do not

have children on the islands, may also live in independent households. Due to the absence of other sources of labor, if members of independent households need help they draw on the labor pool of the corporate family.

Corporative Strategy

In a general sense, one can speak of a corporative descent system for the Azores where all members are potential recipients of land and the actual usage of the land has more to do with who is resident on the islands than who has inherited the land. The corporative unit is the medium that connects kin groups on both sides of the Atlantic. Heavy out-migration has altered the system of inheritance so that few rules reckon descent and the transmission of resources. Through the corporatist system, land is kept in the family and if a migrant family returns they are entitled to use the land. Members of the family who did not migrate function as caretakers, maintaining the land and homes until the migrant returns home.

In the interim, which may be as long as twenty years, the relatives care for the land and use the land and the dwellings for their own purposes. If a member of the extended family marries and there is no house available for the conjugal couple, they may temporarily move into the house vacated by a migrant. The sharing of homes under the corporative system alleviates another problem that migrants experience if they attempt to rent their homes rather than assign them to a family member to take care of. A Portuguese law protects the rights of the renter and someone who rents a house can reside there indefinitely and is under no legal obligation to leave. This discourages rentals and reinforces the corporative network.

The corporative unit administers the land and allows its members usage rights. If no family members use the land for agricultural purpose,

then the land may be sharecropped or allowed to lie fallow. Because of the corporate system actual ownership of land is difficult to determine at times. Land is frequently passed from family member to family member without going through official state channels. Consequently, the corporate system can provide problems for present owners who wish to sell their homes and land and do not have the actual titles. The corporative system worked well in the past when land had little value, but today with increases in land prices more Azoreans are contemplating the sale of their land. When the government built a road on Faial from Capelinhos, the site of the 1957 volcano, to the village of Veradouro, officials could not find the owners to the land that the road bisected.¹⁴ Apparently, there were no actual titles for the land. After the road was completed, many of the owners came forward and demanded compensation.

Land Tenure

The Azorean system of land tenure and inheritance involves a parcelling and equal division of family owned plots. In other words, each sibling in the family is entitled to an equal inheritance after the death of the last parent. This rule is again the ideal and it is probably broken as often as it is followed. For example, in some cases where land is not involved, the house is left to those in most desperate need. If there is an invalid in the family, the house may go to a family member who is willing to take on the responsibility for the invalid after the parents die. Also, the child who stays with the parents until they die is likely to get the house, especially if the other siblings have migrated and do not live on the islands.

¹⁴ J. Cutileiro in, *A Portuguese Rural Society*, (Oxford, 1971), describes some of the problems that can result when land is not registered.

While houses are sometimes sold, most of the adjacent land is usually retained by the family. Houses have in the past had less value than the land itself, although this is rapidly changing. On Faial, a recent influx of foreigners has led to an increase in land and house prices. At present, the majority of foreigners buy the most marginal land, usually situated on top of cliffs with spectacular views, but with little utility for agriculture. A house and a small piece of land that could have been purchased for under a few thousand dollars 10 to 15 years ago, would probably find buyers for \$70,000 at today's prices. With full integration into the EEC, more continental Europeans will arrive to live on Faial which will further drive up the land prices. A number of European families (for the most part Germans) have already arrived and there are frequent advertisements in the local paper, *O Telégrafo*, announcing impending arrivals.

At present, foreigners are not interested in living on Pico and so land prices on the island have remained stable. Since there is no foreign interest in Pico, there are no land agents enticing peasants to sell their land. On Faial, some small landowners are already contemplating the high price some crazy foreigner will pay for their land. If the sale of land continues on Faial, future generations of Azoreans will have no recourse but to outmigrate or to live and work in the islands' cities. At present, there is still sufficient land on both islands, but few families have the resources to purchase land and so the only way to acquire property is to inherit it.

While some families are still large with five or six children in the younger generation, many couples now have only two or three children. In the past, allotments of land to each family member were so small they were scarcely sufficient to meet subsistence needs. Now that families are smaller, the problems that arose through the larger land segmentations should

diminish. Not only will the children receive more land but the potential for sibling conflict will be reduced. For example, in one case which occurred during the field research on Faial, six siblings inherited two *alqueires* of land, (slightly less than an acre), and the land, house and furnishings were sold and equally divided among the family members. Land is an important resource to Azoreans and the sale of the land reflects the economic situation of this particular family. The market value of the plot of land that the family sold was also increasing as the land is situated on a bluff overlooking a bay. Had the family waited for a year they would have probably been able to receive double the price that the land eventually sold for. Because of the large number of siblings, it was impossible for them to agree postponing the sale of the land so that they might develop a long-term economic strategy.

In another case on Faial, the death of a woman brought relatives from other islands and the United States to make claims against the estate. This particular estate was complicated because the woman had remarried and the husband's family challenged the estate. The house had been remodeled after the couple returned to the Azores and it was in a good location so was worth a lot of money. This is a common case in some Azorean villages these days. The migrants who left in the fifties and sixties are finding that the houses that they own the Azores are now worth a small fortune.

In the Azores the majority of the land is owned by individual families. The state controls land devoted to military purposes on some of the islands and it also owns some of the more marginal pasturage at the higher altitudes. If state land is being used for military purposes and is important to national security then no one can live or keep cows on this land. State land at the higher altitudes is sometimes referred to as common land and local islanders can graze their cows on this land for a minimal fee. The following table

outlines the percentages of land retained in individual holdings as opposed to other types of land ownership.

Table 12. 1
Land Tenure
Landownership

Island	Individual		Society		State		Other	
	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area
Faial	99.3	83.1	0.2	2.1	0.3	14.8	0.3	.03
Pico	99.6	92.7	0.3	2.7	0.1	4.6	—	—
Azores	99.3	80.8	0.4	4.0	0.2	15.1	0.1	0.1

Source: Drepa *Pico Caracterização*. (1988); *Faial Caracterização*. (1985).

Because of outmigration there is no real shortage of land on Pico and Faial and even though an individual family may not own sufficient land for agricultural purposes, they can rent a migrant's land for a small fee. Agricultural land rents for approximately 500 escudos per *alqueire* a year and because of the low returns from land rentals, islanders with unutilized land are not that interested in maintaining this unprofitable arrangement.

An individual family will usually have a number of pieces of land dispersed throughout the parish. The family usually devotes a considerable portion of the land to pasturage and grows subsistence foods on the rest. The activity on the land is sometimes rotated. Cows may be kept on a piece of land for a short period of time and the dung used to fertilize the soil. Then potatoes or corn will be planted.

The general pattern of landownership for the Azores is best described as *minifundia*. For the purpose of general definition, the *minifundia* can be understood as a unit of land under 20 hectares and the exploitation of this land does not involve capitalist intensive agricultural technology. On the

minifundia in the Azores, cattle are raised and subsistence crops are grown. If there is an agricultural surplus marketed, besides cattle products, from the *minifundia* it is usually fruit or wine. In contrast, the *latifundia* is a larger landholding primarily devoted to intensive cashcropping for export as well as local consumption.

There are two contexts for the existence of the *latifundia* on the Azores. On the most populated island of São Miguel, the *latifundia*, while not the predominant form of land tenure, does encompass sizeable areas of agriculturally fertile land. On São Miguel, cash crops such as tea and tobacco are grown on the larger estates. The monopolization of agricultural land by the *latifundia* estates has contributed to the existence of a landless class on São Miguel. On Pico, where the majority of the land above the elevation of 300 meters cannot be used for agricultural purposes, there are large landholdings of forested land but the concentration of capital in these large landholdings do not impede access to agricultural land. The differences between the area under the control of individual operators between Pico and the Azores in Table 12. 2 can be attributed to the larger degree of capital concentration in agricultural land on São Miguel.

There is a small class of itinerant agricultural laborers on Faial and Pico who are hired by families who do not have adequate male labor for the heavier work in the fields. The most common situation is that of a widow whose sons may be in North America or otherwise engaged on the Azores. The official salary for agricultural (or daily) workers on Pico is between 1400 and 2000 *escudos*. However, because of the absence of other types of employment opportunities on Pico, the real wages for agricultural workers are well below the official guideline. An agricultural worker on Pico hired to plant or dig up a potato crop might only receive 1000 *escudos* for a day's work.

On Faial, the official salary for an agricultural worker is 1800 *escudos* but because of the general shortage of labor, the daily worker might command a salary of 3000 *escudos*.

Table 12. 2.
Land Distribution

Categories of Land (%)	Pico		Azores	
	No.	Area	No.	Area
Owner Operated	64.4	84.2	53.6	59.2
Fixed Rent	12.7	8.4	31.9	35.5
Variable Rent	0.3	0.2	2.0	0.5
Other	22.6	7.2	12.5	4.8

Source: DREPA, *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

Table 12. 3
Labor Distribution (%)

	Domestic Labor		Paid Labor	
	Full-Time	Part-Time	Full-Time	Part-Time
Faial	92.1	4.5	1.0	2.4
Azores	70.0	17.2	6.9	5.9

Source: DREPA,(1985), *Faial Caracterização*

Table 12. 4
Land Tenure Faial

Size (Hectares)	< 1	1 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 49	> 50	Total
Number of Holdings	556	845	463	36	7	1,907
Total Area	239.9	2,232.0	4,118.5	1,099.6	2,190.6	9,880.6
Average Holding	.43	2.64	8.90	30.54	312.94	5.18

Source: Drepa 1985: *Faial Caracterização*.

Table 12. 5
Land Tenure Pico

Size (Hectares)	< 1	1 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 49	> 50	Total
Number of Holdings	1,406	1,164	840	193	41	3,644
Total Area	626	2,770	8,693	5,600	11,054	28,743
Average Holding	.44	2.4	10.34	29.01	296.6	7.88

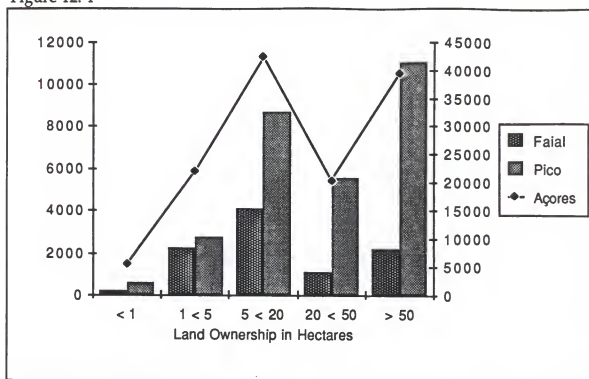
Source: Drepa 1988: *Pico Caracterização*.

Table 12. 6
Land Tenure Azores

Size (Hectares)	< 1	1 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 49	> 50	Total
Number of Holdings	12,546	9,264	4,521	684	197	27,212
Total Area	5,472.0	22,200.9	42,324.6	20,504.6	39,587.6	130,089.7
Average Holding	.44	2.40	9.36	29.98	200.95	4.78

Source: Drepa 1985: *Faial Caracterização*.

Figure 12. 1



Land Tenure: General

Source: DREPA, *Faial Caracterização*, (1985); *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

Land Usage

A larger percentage of the agricultural land on Pico and Faial is devoted to pasturage than in the Azores as a whole. Over 50% of agricultural land on both of the above islands is relegated to livestock production. The land under cultivation for grain and vegetable crops within the Azores, however, varies from island to island. On Santa Maria almost 1/3 of land suitable for agricultural use is assigned to grain cultivation. The high percentage of land used for the cultivation of cereal grains on Santa Maria in comparison with the Azores generally is related to environmental factors. Santa Maria has large expanses of land ideally suited to large scale agricultural production.

But as on the other islands, the remaining 2/3 of land on Santa Maria is used for cattle grazing.¹⁵

On Pico, only a small percentage of land is devoted to tillage and this reflects Pico's environmental situation as well as its economically subservient position vis-à-vis Faial. Although much of the land on Pico is not suitable for tillage, and much of what is cultivated is grown on steeply terraced slopes, Pico's agricultural system is also being undermined by larger processes. The economic situation that is emerging within the EEC is one where certain countries within the larger community produce certain commodities while other regions serve as an import market for these commodities. This unequal exchange relationship is replicated within the Azores. Pico thus serves as an import market for EEC commodities, as well as commodities produced on São Miguel. For example, tomatoes and onions in Pico's shops come from Spain; chickens come from Denmark; *bacalhau* (salted cod) comes from Norway; and eggs come from São Miguel. Pico exports approximately 5 tons of produce (oranges, wines, figs and cows) a year while almost 30,000 tons of imports are unloaded on the island annually.¹⁶

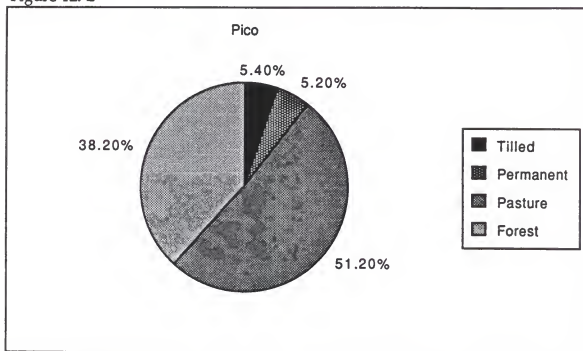
Besides pasturage and vegetable cropping, a small portion of land on all the islands is relegated to orchards (the permanent crops). Bananas and oranges are grown on all the islands but they represent only a minor crop in relation to the archipelago's economy. On most of the islands under 2% of land is devoted to fruit growing. The other perennial crop on the Azores is the grape vine. Again, while grape growing is common to all the islands, Pico is the major producer of wines on the islands. Of the total 2,978 hectares

¹⁵ DREPA, *Santa Maria Caracterização*, (1985).

¹⁶ DREPA, *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

allocated to grape growing on the Azores, 37.2% (1,110 hectares) is cultivated on Pico. Pico also grows over 70% of the quality grapes on the islands. Seventy-four hectares are devoted to grape growing on Pico in contrast to a total of 107 hectares for the Azores as a whole.)¹⁷

Figure 12. 2

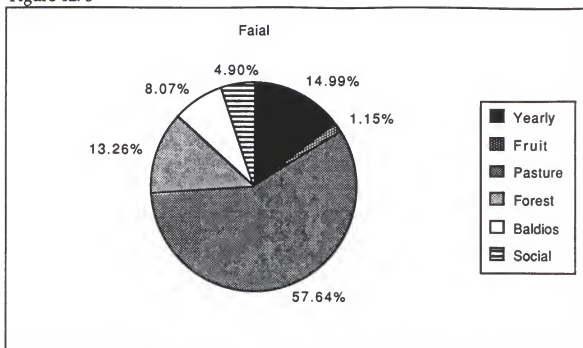


Land Allocation: Pico

Source: DREPA, *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

¹⁷ DREPA, *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

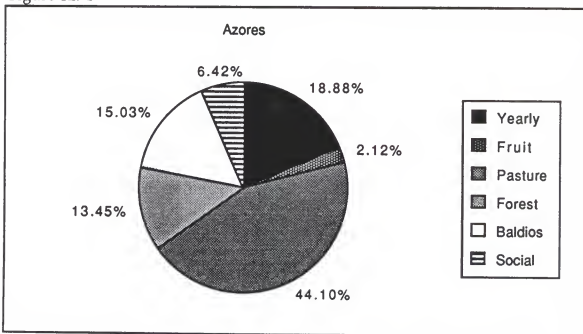
Figure 12. 3



Land Allocation: Faial

Source: DREPA, *Faial Caracterização*, (1985).

Figure 12. 4



Land Allocation: Azores

Source: DREPA, *Faial Caracterização*, (1985); *Pico Caracterização*, (1988).

The Azorean method of cattle raising on Pico and Faial works primarily as follows. The farmer rises in the morning to milk the cows. The milk is then put into containers and taken to the *poste*, the general collection stations where the dairies collect the milk. Then the farmer can do a number of things. If he has a job, he will move the cattle to another pasturage to graze before he goes to work. His wife, or an older member of the family, might move the cattle to a fresh pasturage at midday, but more than likely they will just tie up the cattle in a different part of the field. If the owner of the cows is retired or not involved in wage employment, he will probably spend the day watching his cows, periodically moving them after they have exhausted the grassland in a particular field.

Generally, between two and five cows are staked down on a small plot of land to graze. The cattle then eat all the grass in a circle around the stake and then are either moved to another spot in the field or taken to another pasturage. Since fields are dispersed this involves a significant amount of labor time for the person watching the cows, but since the returns from the sale of cattle are great it is time well invested. Electric fences are being introduced and this has the potential of reducing labor time considerably. Two to three cows are herded to a section of the pasture land and a thin wire is staked around the cows at a height of one meter. The current is then turned on and the cows can graze freely within this space for four or five hours.

The largest percentage of cattle watchers on Pico and Faial are older men. Taking care of cows is not considered an admirable profession for a young man on Faial and there is a certain stigma attached to cattle raising as a full-time occupation. Consequently, young people who have any skills at all prefer to work in Horta for wages. It is, however, acceptable to keep a few

cows in addition to holding paid employment. Most Azoreans who live in the rural area, even though they work in the city, keep cows both for subsistence and marketing purposes.

Vineyards and fruit trees represent only a small fraction of the land devoted to agricultural cultivation on Faial. Faial depends almost totally on Pico for wine and oranges as well as figs, apples, pears and chestnuts. In one sense, the different types of agricultural activity on Pico and Faial reflects the labor situation on these two islands. On Pico a sizeable percentage of the labor force is still involved in agricultural activity and there has been no serious effort on the part of the government to divert this labor force to other sectors of the economy. On Faial, where there is opportunity for wage labor, the majority of agricultural activity revolves around animal husbandry. Historically, the trade relations between Faial and Pico involved wines, citrus and figs being brought to Faial from Pico and exchanged for grains and other minor commodities that could be purchased in local stores. Today, wines, figs and citrus are still imported from Pico but the commodities that return to the island are no longer produced on Faial. Much of the cargo that now goes from Faial to Pico is actually being transshipped from either São Miguel or Europe.

The principal annual crops grown on both Pico and Faial are corn, beans, lupine, onions, potatoes, sweet potatoes, taro, kale and squash. All of these are subsistence crops and for the most part are not marketed on the islands. There has been no government initiative to extend the cultivation of cash crops to either Pico or Faial. The only cash crop the EEC is interested in on the Azores is sugar beets and local producers receive a subsidy of 7,400

escudos a ton for this crop.¹⁸ The production of cash crops is dominated by São Miguel and the following cash crops are grown almost exclusively on this island.

Table 12. 7

Cash Crops* Produced on the Azores

Year	Beets	Tobacco	Endives	Tea	Pineapples
1978	46,310.4	523.2	41,831.5	317.5	1,564.6
1979	46,310.0	519.0	30,040.0	317.8	1,597.2
1980	38,036.2	361.3	12,616.5	224.8	1,604.9
1981	28,914.7	208.6	84,98.7	190.1	1,534.0
1982	41,957.0	243.0	5,600.0	189.0	1,395.8
1983	52,812.0	394.0	16,975.0	153.0	1,422.6
1984	55,070.0	245.0	14,000.0	109.0	2,200.0
1985	31,095.0	411.2	11,246.0	139.0	2,280.0
1986	39,310.0	534.0	-----	166.0	1,900.0

Source: Drepa 1986 *Açores em Números 10 Anos de Autonomia* and 1987 *Situação Socioeconómica*.

* Figures are in tonnage.

The high market price of food has reinforced the peasant social unit. Many rural island families keep a cow (or steer), a pig and chickens for household consumption. The cattle and the chicken are slaughtered quietly and there is no special occasion to mark when they are prepared for household consumption. Some cattle are reserved for the *feira do espírito santo* and the killing of cattle in this ritual context is a community and not a household event. The killing of the pig, however, is a festive occasion for the household and the extended family is mobilized for the event (see Appendix).

¹⁸ "Açúcar Açoriano vai ter ajudas comunitárias," in *Açoreano Oriental*, March 11, 1988.

Postscript

If EEC policy directives are implemented on the islands the functional relationship that now exists between a peasant and proletarian economy will in all likelihood be disrupted. The islands' economic base is extremely precarious. Wage labor does not offer enough compensation to support independent households so families rely on the sale of cattle to earn additional income. Government subsidies are also important economic sources for many Azorean households. Current EEC policy is directed against both the peasant and the welfare economy. With the removal of these two economic sources and if no productive activity with higher remuneration is not introduced, Azoreans may have no recourse in the future but to outmigrate. The present phase of capitalist expansion corresponds to a pattern that has developed historically on the islands. With the injection of economic life on the islands the rates of outmigration slow considerably.

THE DREAM IS OVER

The Azores have come almost full circle since their initial settlement over five hundred years ago. Samir Amin writes that in the Mediterranean region in the fourteenth century the true prehistory of capitalism can be found. With the decline of the Mediterranean economy the patterns that were established there drifted westwards.¹ This shift in productive patterns had important implications for the Atlantic economies in the fifteenth century. Crops such as sugar-cane and wine that had been previously cultivated in the Mediterranean were grown on the Atlantic islands. Italian merchants who saw their fortunes diminishing in the Mediterranean were also attracted to this new frontier. These merchants provided crucial capital for colonial enterprise. To further the interests of the expansion of capital to a new region, labor was required to build and man ships as well cultivate crops in the new regions. As the direction of the development of capitalist enterprise moved northward, the Italians were replaced in turn by the Flemish and the English in the Portuguese economy. When the first phase of Portuguese colonial expansion came to an abrupt halt in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the intervention of foreign interests which had begun in the fifteenth century in the Portuguese economy intensified.

¹ Amin, (1989), 73.

Commodities that flowed from Portuguese territory to the northern regions were used to stimulate a new technological awakening.

The industrial revolution had its most profound effect on the modern human condition in terms of the development of technology through which the exploitation of human labor was possible on a full-time basis. With the onset of the industrial revolution the migratory journey of capital from the Mediterranean by way of the Atlantic economies was complete. After the industrial revolution, capital increasingly became concentrated in certain regions. As the American economy began to industrialize more labor was needed to ensure continued growth. In the late nineteenth century labor moved to this new region of development in ever greater frequencies.

Labor migration from the Azores needs to be placed in this larger context of global development. Portuguese labor in the fifteenth century was used to further the interests of Italian venture capital. As the European economy went into a general crisis in the seventeenth century, labor from the Azores migrated to Brazil. But even this labor force was engaged in reinforcing and helping to propel the development of incipient productive forces in Europe. With the industrial revolution, Portugal's dependent situation on the northern economies was solidified. Migrant workers from the Azores participated as wage laborers in the industrializing economies and the Portuguese economy was subsidized through migrant remittances.

As the world economy went into a general depression in the beginning of the twentieth century, a peasant way of life was reconstituted on the islands.² Following the second world war, migrant labor moved to North

² S. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (Baltimore, 1974), 146-156, provides some definitions for different forms of peasant relations. I use reconstituted to describe a situation

America from the Azores as the economies of the United States and Canada began to grow. Today the economic and social universe of the Azores is again being defined in relation to economic realities on a global level. The European Economic Community is expanding and Azoreans while not being recruited as laborers in this expansion are being encouraged, through subsidized government programs, to become more active consumers. Consequently, Azoreans who have never migrated are becoming more involved in commodity consumption.

The Initiation to Commodity Fetishism

The current situation in the Azores is interesting for a number of reasons. Foremost, it allows one to examine how peasants are inducted into the world of commodity consumption. Second, it demonstrates once again how closely activity on the islands mirrors events in the larger economic universe. Third, it provides by way of a case study some of the processes that may in the future contribute to outmigration from the islands.

Fourth, the new phase of European economic expansion signifies the movement in the Azores away from a way of life where there was only indirect participation in the cultural program of capitalist enterprise to a total dependence on commodity fetishism as a way of life. Up until the last decade, commodities and monies used to buy commodities on the islands were acquired through migrant labor. Azoreans were able to withstand the full onslaught of capitalist penetration as they lived in a world which was defined

where a group of people who were previously dependent on commodity production and wage labor begin to produce largely for household consumption.

in dualistic terms. While large numbers of Azoreans went to labor in industrial regions, equal numbers stayed behind on the islands to farm.

Thus the culture of capitalism manifested itself on the islands in a unique way. The local cultural system incorporated elements from the larger ideological cosmos and synthesized these with elements drawn from the agrarian experience. As the agrarian way of life is destroyed on the islands through economic expansion, the above cultural synthesis may lose symbolic significance for Azoreans. Azoreans then may slowly start to totally identify with capitalist culture. The departure for the Azorean would be from a way of life where the commodity was only partially incorporated into the local cultural experience to a way of life where the acquisition of the commodity would totally define the social and cultural universe of the islanders. This last phase of complete capitalist incorporation has been referred to as the postmodernist period. The postmodernist period of capital encroachment represents the total break-down of a peasant way of life and the full induction into a wage economy.

Jean Baudrillard writes that the fundamental contradiction of Marxian interpretations of capitalist enterprise is the conceptualization of the commodity independently as both use value and exchange value. To Baudrillard, the two systems of value are intrinsically linked.

Marxist analysis has contributed to the mythology (a veritable rationalist mystique) that allows the relation of the individual to objects conceived as use values to pass for a concrete and objective - in sum, "natural" - relation between man's needs and the function proper to the object. This is all seen as the opposite of the abstract, reified "alienated relation the subject would have towards products as measures.³

3 J. Baudrillard, *J. Baudrillard: Selected Writings* (Stanford, 1988), 68.

Under capitalist relations use value is as socially defined as exchange value; utility and need are social measurements for goods which were once luxuries and over time have come to be regarded as necessities. However, use value in an economic system not subjected to market dictates is distinct from exchange value. For example, in a commonly held Marxian assumption about peasant autonomy it is argued that if the peasant has control of the means of production he will not willingly sell his labor. The peasant must be uprooted before he will exchange labor that was previously used for utilitarian purposes in order to produce a surplus not related to the acquisition of basic necessities. The economic marker that defines the transition from peasant to worker is the relationship to the means of production. The peasant has a degree of control because he/she has access to the essential resources necessary for the reproduction of the peasant unit--commonly the household. Money obtained through the surplus the peasant produces is used to satisfy either external obligations such as taxes, to purchase paraphernalia for ritual use, or to buy "necessities" such as sugar and salt that the peasant unit does not produce.⁴

There is a clear distinction between use value and exchange value in a peasant economy. The dichotomy between use value and exchange value, however, becomes blurred when the peasant turned worker needs to purchase all the necessities that are needed for the reproduction of the domestic unit. The worker needs to continually make the distinction between necessity and luxury and over time what was once considered a luxury may become a necessity.⁵ The process of incorporation into a wage

⁴ See Wolf, (1966).

⁵ Mintz (1985) describes this process in relation to sugar.

economy then is more than economic. The sale of labor involves a social negotiation as the labor is exchanged for products that are socially defined.

The commodity, in some cases, is an object in which the worker invests to satisfy a number of objectives. One example is the purchase of a washing machine. From a material perspective the washing machine is a labor saving devise that frees the labor power of women for other pursuits. Initially the machine may be used sparingly in combination with hand washing. The presence of the washing machine is a status item to be displayed prominently for visitors. However, if there is a demand for the labor power of women beyond the household domain, the washing machine becomes a necessity which either women or men in modern society cannot live without.⁶

The transition from a societal state where use value is still autonomously defined to a state where the distinction between use and exchange value becomes blurred involves not only an individualistic reorientation as to how a commodity is perceived but has larger societal implications. Azoreans claim themselves that their attitudes have become much more individualistic and that their social interaction has suffered because it seems that all islanders now want to do is to buy things. Once the social mechanisms that allowed the Azoreans a forum to develop their own cultural interpretations disappear, it is difficult to project what cultural forms will replace these.

⁶ see Goldman, (1989)

The Migrant Dilemma

This dissertation focused on population movement from the old world to the new. The midway point for many of the settlers who started out in fifteenth century Portugal looking for a new start in life was the Atlantic archipelago of the Azores. Many of the ancestors of these settlers eventually made it to the New World but often their stay in the new frontier was temporary. Over the centuries, return migration has become as much of a way of life as outmigration.

Today, many Azoreans only come home for the summer vacation. Thousands of migrants, covered in jewelry and dangling cameras, descend on the islands in July and August. Many of these migrants have traded in their still cameras for video machines and on a good day in an Azorean market in the summertime one can witness a number of movies being made. Azorean islanders who never migrated are not impressed with this ostentatious display. A frequently heard statement on the islands is that return migrants think that they are better than those who never left. But the recent influx of EEC capital has given non-migrants access to luxurious commodity goods and this has elevated the status of Azoreans who chose not to migrate. At times, when members of an Azorean household know that family members will be returning to the islands to visit, they quickly modernize their homes by installing bathrooms and modern appliances.

Despite the fact that the sons and daughters of the Azores share a common ethnic heritage, migrants and their Azorean kin will soon be economically separated. The islanders are being drawn back into the European sphere and the developmental capital the community has provided has increased the standard of living of the average Azorean—at least in terms of the ability to purchase commodities. Conversely, the migrants who return

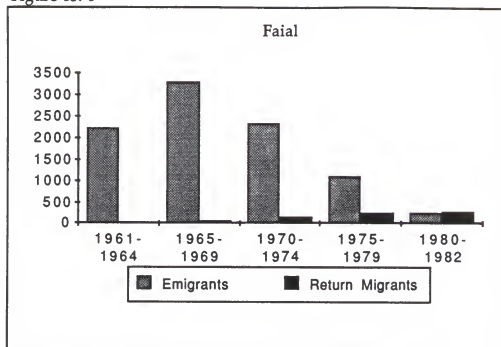
with their earned American dollars will not be able to afford to live in the Azores in the luxurious manner that they had anticipated. Already, the signs that point to this economic disparity are evident on Pico. In every village there are abandoned, half-built houses. The construction was started by migrants with big dreams who did not budget for the declining power of the currency that they were using. As one Picoense who came back when it was still affordable to re-establish oneself comfortably in the Azores, stated simply, "You have to bring back enough money."

This is an unfortunate reality that migrants in North American Portuguese communities are going to have to face. They have retained their dream through all their hard labor. The objective always was to go to the New World to work and earn the dollars so one could return to the islands to rest. Many of the migrants have worked night and day for twenty years to realize this dream. Now for many of them the dream is over. When one asks in the Pico village where the owners of these houses have gone the locals say they have gone back to America to get more money.

Azoreans in North American communities who have invested their labor in dreams that may now never be realized might have to divest themselves of their past and define a new course for their future. The Azorean migrants were certain that the peasant economy in the Azores would never die and that they would return home one day to spend their American dollars at Third World prices.

Figure 13. 1 illustrates the changing migrant patterns on the Azores. Where for two decades migrants have left the islands, many of the departees are now returning.

Figure 13. 1



Emigration and Return Migration

Source: *Direcção De Serviços De Emigração*.

These migrants, like anthropologists who venture out into the Third World expecting to find a traditional way of life that has long since been transformed, cling to the hope that the old way has not changed. In the past, it was possible for many migrants to realize this dream. The nineteenth century migrant who set out on the whaling ship could earn enough money to return home and build a better life on the islands. But the twentieth century migrant will not be able to accomplish this.

The Azores have historically been a bridge that connected the old world with the new. Migrants who left the islands and returned ensured that this connection between two ways of life was not broken. Today, with European capitalist expansion, this connection may be permanently ruptured as the Azores are incorporated once more into the modern world. The Azorean identity which has been maintained in the North American community is also in danger of being lost. Part of the reason for the

perpetuation of this identity was the absence of opportunity for social mobility in the host country. Migrants saved their dollars in North America and returned home to attain status that was denied them abroad. Today, as the dollar depreciates in relation to European currencies, dollars no longer translate so easily into social mobility.

On the islands, Azoreans today are experiencing the benefits accrued through EEC integration. Developmental capital is transforming the infrastructural base of the islands, but this capital is being used for material improvement. Little money or thought has gone into how Azoreans will fare as they are drawn back into the highly competitive European sphere. The peasant economy which has historically sustained the islanders is being de-emphasized through the modernization process, but little in the way of economic activity is being offered in its place. It is perhaps premature to speculate what will happen with full EEC integration in 1992 when as one government official put it: "Azoreans will have to stand on their own two feet in the modern world."

The ideology of capitalism presents the individual with infinite opportunities which inspire dreams. But the economic reality of the process of capitalist incorporation is that underdeveloped economies that are drawn into the capitalist process start at an unfair advantage. Ideologically, the European community is committed to establishing a true common market with a general currency and no constraints on labor movement across national boundaries. In reality, Germany and France are already sending migrant labor home. What the islanders will do following EEC integration is difficult to say but migration has been a historic solution to island economic problems and if the situation in the Azores becomes too desperate, the United

States government to protect its military interests on the islands may again accept large numbers of Azoreans.

APPENDIX A METHODS

Historical Interpretation

The study of Azorean cultural and economic history poses a special dilemma for the researcher. On the one hand, the material available to conduct the inquiry is especially rich. The Azorean archives are readily accessible and the work of the chroniclers fairly detailed. The dilemma then is not related to resources but in the manner in which to approach the resources. Armando Cortesão writes that "to understand certain historical moments, one must ask the right questions in order to find the right answers."¹ Finding these questions is at times a more insurmountable task than finding the sources to support one's queries.

There are a number of intellectual traditions in the social sciences that rather than illuminate, obfuscate a comprehensive understanding of Azorean history. One historical tradition is not an articulated academic position, as such, as it is so ingrained in the western notion of being that it is presumed to be a natural state of affairs rather than a socially derived position. This tradition which presupposes that modern history began with the historic voyages of Columbus, is a socially accepted given for many Western

¹ Cortesão (1973), 15.

historians and social scientists.² The monumental histories thus chronologically begin with this historical moment.³

This tradition is well represented in American classrooms where it is readily embraced by young students eager to understand their historical heritage.⁴ The idea of Columbus is a fixation which provides a mythological orientation for the rationalization of the American dream. The Columbus that is presented to the student is an innovator, an adventurer and a man ever willing to take advantage of opportunity to achieve the impossible. One of the primary purveyors of this mythology is Samuel Eliot Morison, historian and seaman, who established his tenure at Harvard University and whose residence in that institution gave him a credibility through which his opinions were readily accepted as fact.⁵ To elevate Morison to the level of mythmaker, however, is a deceptive notion for his ideas would not have been so readily accepted if the institutional and ideological apparatuses had not existed as a forum for the dissemination of this mythology. Morison's role as a historian is thus best perceived as an interpreter of a mythology that already had deep roots in the American subconscious. William McNeill issues the following comment on the relationship between mythology and history.

Myth and history are close kin inasmuch as both explain how things got to be the way they are by telling some sort of a story. But our common parlance reckons myth to be false while history is, or aspires to be, true. Accordingly, a

² See Amin, (1989).

³ See Wolf (1982) and Frank (1978).

⁴ Cortesão (1973), 68, writes that "it is certainly much easier to be popular in Professor Morison's country asserting that Columbus was the first European to reach America than otherwise.

⁵ S. Morison, *The European Discovery of America*, (New York, 1971), 93,

historian who rejects someone else's conclusions calls them mythical, while claiming that his own views are true. But what seems true to one historian will seem false to another, so one historian's truth becomes another's myth, even at the moment of utterance.⁶

From the perspective of this study, it is not Morison's historical mythmaking role in American education that needs to be clarified, but his role as an advocate against other forms of historical knowledge. Morison's charge against a Portuguese version of history is not only that the history is erroneous, but that in the way it is represented by the Cortesão brothers, Portuguese children are being indoctrinated into a world view that is, for the lack of a better term, anti-American. Morison employs a number of devices to discredit this world view but his most effective means of critique is to simply label any piece of information that interferes with his historical interpretation as nonsense.

This theory, first propounded by Jamie Cortesão in 1924, is perhaps the most preposterous in modern history, because it uses absence of evidence as positive evidence that the Portuguese discovered everything. Yet it has converted almost every Portuguese historian and is taught in Portuguese schools.⁷

In relation to Jaime Cortesão's theory on secret voyages, there is substantial evidence to support the case that Columbus had been privy to certain confidential information that the Portuguese court had about the New World.⁸ There are maps that indicate that the Portuguese and others had

⁶ W. McNeill, "Mythhistory, or Truth, Myth, History, and Historians," in *American Historical Review*, (1986), Vol. 91: 1-10.

⁷ Morison, (1971), 110.

⁸ Columbus's father-in-law was the captain of the Madeiran island of Porto Santo and Columbus lived there for a long period of time and sailed with Portuguese sailors. Columbus's brother-in-law was the captain of the Azorean island of Graciosa.

traveled extensively in the Atlantic at least a century prior to Columbus. To Morison, however, cartographic references to the Azores in the fourteenth century are the result of bored medieval map makers who filled in empty spaces on their maps simply because they disliked empty spaces.⁹

There is also the question of Morison's opinion on Azorean sources which he discredits in such a way that their accuracy is subjected to serious doubt. Morison issues the following disclaimer on the reliability of Azorean historians:

The alleged Corte Real discovery is based on a statement in the *Saudades da Terra* (Souvenirs of the land) by Gaspar Frutuoso, a notoriously unreliable collector of gossip. It was repeated, pushing back the date ten years, in the *História Insulana* (1717) of António Cordeiro, a more respectable Portuguese historian.

First, *saudades* more accurately translates as longing or homesickness. Second, Frutuoso is spelled Fructuoso which is a minor point for it could be a typographical error. Morison's description of Fructuoso as an unreliable gossip and Cordeiro as a more respectable historian is, however, not such a minor point since Cordeiro's work, as does most Azorean history, draws so heavily on Fructuoso's six volumes. In one statement Morison has managed to discredit all Azorean history except for his own. The statement would be considered justifiable if it even remotely appeared that Morison had read or consulted either volume which he apparently, from his comments, did not.

The above debate in regard to historical accuracy has serious implications for this study. If the historical data is considered biased by one researcher, how does another researcher reliably use this data. For the Azores

⁹ Morison, (1971), 83.

there is a way around this problem. Gaspar Frutuoso used a lot of factual information in his study that can be confirmed through the examination of other types of data. For example, in the section on commodities I use several case studies from Frutuoso's work. The case studies, however, only gain significance when used in conjunction with other data. In this sense, Frutuoso's prices on basic foodstuffs conform to similar data collected by Maria Rocha Gil from wills and trade data for this same period.¹⁰

Information Sources

A number of different data collecting techniques were employed during the course of this study. Roberta Goldman, who was researching the historical role of women for her doctoral dissertation, and I lived in two villages on the islands of Faial and Pico for a period of 15 months from January, 1987 until April 1988. The villages provided a good contrast through which to view recent changes in Azorean society. The first village we lived in on Faial can be described as a peasant/proletarian village in that the majority of households had at least one member and sometimes more who engaged in wage labor. The second village can be described as a peasant village as many of the households in the village did not have full-time wage members. The villages that we lived in were fairly small by current anthropological standards. The first village had 750 people and the second village less than 200 inhabitants. We also visited four of the other islands and talked to villagers on these islands.

While living in the villages we used the standard anthropological method of participant/observation. As much as possible we participated in

¹⁰ M. Rocha Gil, *O Arquipélago dos Açores no Século XVII* (Castelo Branco, 1979).

the social life of the village. We attended church, went to the village plaza regularly and frequented the festivals. In order to gauge changes in the festival structure and performance we attended festival events both in the villages and in the city. Since we were not able to consult a comprehensive ethnographic literature on the Azores, many of the research directions I pursued were based on luck and good fortune. For example, the information on the *promessas* was obtained because we just happened to be in the right place at the right time.

Our task was made easier because we were related through marriage to a large number of the households in the first village. My brother had married an Azorean woman in Canada and her parents generously allowed us to use their house and through letters provided a our general introduction to the village. To gain access and a place to live in the second village, we used the kinship network from the first village.

One problem that surfaced immediately was that it was going to be difficult to do a study of current migration patterns from the Azores because almost all the people I talked to when I first arrived were not interested in migrating. I had previously done research in a migrant community in Mexico and I assumed that since both the research context in the Azores and Mexico were similar in that both were migrant sending communities, I would find a common attitude to migration.¹¹ In Mexico, migrating to the United States was a constant topic of conversation. This was not the case in the Azores. To find out why Azoreans were no longer interested in migrating I decided to look to history for the explanation. The research plan

¹¹ R. Harder, *The Effects of Regional Development on a Local Economy in Michoacan, Mexico*, Masters Thesis, (Manitoba, 1984).

had its basis in the current situation, but I soon discovered that to describe the present I would have to deal with the past. Andre Gunder Frank in his attempt to uncover the roots of underdevelopment invoked a historical method known as "Fairbank's rule". Fairbank's rule states that when doing historical research never proceed from the beginning for history moves backward and not forward.¹² Consequently my search for an answer to the current situation took me back to before the settlement of the islands when labor in Portugal first began to move.

For the period before colonial expansion began I use secondary sources. In dealing with this period, the problem is not related to information for what when on is not seriously disputed. The problem is related to interpretation and how much weight to give particular processes. I discuss this problem in some detail in Chapter 3.

Both the data on the commodities and outmigration were obtained from local historical studies, archival sources and the books of Azorean chroniclers. The economic series on the various commodities discussed are complete in that the researcher can fairly accurately isolate the time of the introduction of a particular crop, document its period of fluorescence, and conclude that a decline in market receptiveness in a commodity produces a simultaneous decline in production on the islands. The migration data for the seventeenth century was gleaned from royal letters which specified the need for settlers in Brazil and outlined the benefits that would accrue to those who volunteered to migrate.

The data for Faial and Pico for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was obtained from a number of sources. There is a rich literature by travel

¹² Frank, (1978), 16.

writers for this period and although much of their work was culturally biased it is still a good source for basic information related to economic conditions on the islands. The Azorean archives were again useful as well as government almanacs for the late nineteenth century. A number of secondary Azorean sources were also consulted.

There is a great love for history in the Azores and as a result there are many historians. Some of the historians are involved in research at the Universidade dos Açores, but many have other occupations and for them history is a part-time undertaking. Though those in the latter group of historians are not considered professionals from an academic standpoint, in the majority of cases their work is well researched and the theoretical discussions they engage in are quite lively. Their discourse is found in local newspapers and small pamphlets that are published locally. The debates entertain issues such as whether Columbus stopped on Santa Maria, the maritime exploits of Azorean sailors, the origin of island plants and the ethnic origins of the settlers who came to the Azores. The above sources are cited in the text as I use them.

The Salazar period is more problematic for historical research since Salazar did not cultivate a comfortable environment for ongoing research. Many of Portugal's more prominent intellectuals went into exile during the Salazar regime. Much of the information, therefore, related to the Salazar period was obtained through informal interviews with local Azoreans on in the islands and in Canada. One context for discussing local history during the Salazar period was viewing family picture albums. Azorean families are proud of these albums and by asking questions about certain photos the researcher learns a great deal about local history. The photos also provide insights into the migrant histories of families as many of the photos that

families possess were taken when migrants were home on vacation. Migrant families in North America also send home pictures of their families and their homes. Photos detailing social conditions during the Salazar era were also viewed in local museums. We also showed slides to Azorean migrants in Canada and noted their responses to changes that had occurred on the islands since they had left. Some of the more interesting insights for the Salazar period were obtained by asking return migrants how they thought the islands had changed since they left. The economic data was obtained from government documents and trade records for this period.

The migration data for the period following the second world war was obtained from the office of statistics and is conclusive for the period 1960 through 1987. Additional information was obtained through informal interviews with return migrants who had resettled permanently on the islands and other Azoreans who were back on the islands for vacation. In addition I obtained information from taxi drivers many of whom were return migrants who had invested part of their savings in taxis. I have data on 25 taxi drivers and use this information in the section on remittances in Chapter 7. The data on Azorean remittances was obtained from local statistical sources that had been compiled by DREPA. We also interviewed consular representatives of the Canadian and American embassies in Lisbon, Ponta Delgada and Angra do Heroísmo. The above combination of data sources is useful in that it allows the researcher the means to provide a more holistic perspective on the migration process.

The numerical data were obtained from a variety of government statistical sources. The statistical data available for the Azores since the 1974 revolution are vast. Because of impending integration into the European Economic Community, local agencies are collecting information that will

inform developers about which sectors of the Azorean economy have the potential for exploitation and which sectors need to be transformed for modernization goals to be achieved. I use this data extensively in the sections on the modern economy.

APPENDIX B CHRONOLOGY

<u>Year</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Commodity</u>	<u>Population</u>
Portugal and Atlantic Islands			
1348 -1425			
1348	Black Plague	Wheat	Rural Exodus
1383	Revolts	Wines, Olives	Urban Riots
1421-1426	Discovery of Madeira and Azores	Trade Goods	Ship building/ Provisioning/ and Crew
1443	Settlement of Santa Maria and São Miguel	Wheat and Natural Dyes	Free Labor Migration to Atlantic Islands
1570	British Trade Increases	Pastel and Wheat	Agricultural Proletariat/ Peasantry
1670-1700	Second Crisis of Feudalism	Corn and Wheat	Riots/Migration to Brazil
<u>Pico and Faial</u>			
1460-1988			
1460	Settlement of Faial and Pico	Wheat	Labor Migration from Flanders

1460-1650	Incorporation into Market Economy	Wheat and Dyes	Agricultural Proletariat/ Peasantry
1650	Dominant Cash Crop Emerges	Wine	Agricultural Proletariat/ Peasantry
1700-1800	Increased Trade Horta from Harbor	Oranges, Wine and Whales	Agricultural Proletariat/ Peasantry
1840-1870	Blights Destroy Vineyards and Fruit Trees	Minor Commodities	Migration to the United States
1920-1926	Immigration Policies slow down migration	Whale Products and minor commodities	Peasantry
1926-1950	The New State	Minor Commodities	Peasantry
1950-1974	North American Labor Needs Increase	Livestock	Agricultural Proletariat/ Migration to the United States and Canada
1974-1988	Socialist State and EEC Integration	Livestock	Agricultural Proletariat/ Service Sector

APPENDIX C TOBACCO ON THE AZORES

João Mesquita in *Guia do Cultivador de Tabaco nos Azores*, a classification guide for growing and curing tobacco, wrote that "the island of Terceira is going to have its epoch of prosperity for the monopoly on tobacco is finished."¹ Despite a concerted effort on the part of a number of Azoreans, tobacco as a boom crop never became firmly established in the Azores. The failure of Azorean tobacco is related to the monopolies that the Portuguese crown created to protect the interests of larger producers in other parts of the empire. Lisbon has historically adopted a deaf ear policy to Azorean initiative and the local economy is rejuvenated only when it serves the metropole's interests. The local attempts to challenge the monopoly on tobacco, however, and to introduce Azorean tobacco to a larger market had been underway for at least forty years prior to the removal of the monopoly.

In 1825, Vicente José Ferreira Cardozo da Costa, an Azorean judge, large landowner and entrepreneur, began a series of letters to the foreign finance minister explaining that the Azores would be an ideal locale for the cultivation of tobacco. Costa is a good example of how large landowners attempted to direct productive activity to accommodate market potential. The roles of landlord, merchant and politician were sometimes interchangeable in

¹ Mesquita, (Angra, 1865).

the Azores. The methods that Costa used to try and market the crop are similar to those used by Anes do Canto, in 1538, to stimulate the production of pastel (a successful attempt). They are also similar to the appeals the municipal council of Horta made in 1939 to the government of Lisbon to open a *matadouro* (slaughterhouse) on the island of Faial.

Costa was very scientific in the presentation of his arguments for Azorean tobacco. The island environment was perfectly suited for tobacco, argued Costa, and experiments in growing the crop had already taken place on his own plantations. Preparation and the proper curing had also been accomplished. Costa explained that he was sending the minister some sample rolls of his tobacco which he was sure the minister would like as they were prepared with honey, as it is done in Brazil. Not receiving a favorable response to his business proposition, Costa tried again, this time marshalling stronger evidence. The head of the *Casa da Moeda*, an expert on tobacco, had evaluated Costa's tobacco and reassured him that it was of the same quality as the leaf which was smoked in France. Costa was sending along more tobacco, this time prepared a little differently, with honey both on the inside and the outside, for the minister to sample. Costa also emphasised the economic advantages to growing Azorean tobacco--an economic opportunity that the minister should bring to the attention of the king, for São Miguel and Santa Maria can produce all that Portugal needs and at *mais comodo* prices than Brazil. Then in a blatant attempt to stroke the ego of the minister, Costa asked for the minister's opinion as to what he could do to improve his tobacco. The minister was acquainted with the tobaccos of Europe and Costa wished to benefit from his judgement, as all his theory on tobacco was

derived from books.² There was no shortage of Azoreans specialists, to promote the excellent quality of local tobacco. In 1796, the military governor of São Miguel wrote that the island of Santa Maria produced tobacco of a better quality and that found in France.³ Local efforts to break the monopoly on tobacco were unsuccessful and it was not until 1865 that a law was introduced that allowed for official cultivation of tobacco on the islands. Two years later the first tobacco factory opened on São Miguel.⁴

The exact reasons why the Portuguese crown was unreceptive to the cultivation of tobacco in the Azores remain unclear. Brazil had obtained its independence from Portugal in 1825 and it would seem that the Portuguese crown would have been amenable to extending the cultivation of tobacco to new frontiers with the loss of control over its New World colony. The Portuguese crown's maintenance of these monopolies to protect colonial interests suggests that the state was not yet interested in expanding capitalist production.

Tobacco is grown on the Azores today and a number of small factories on the island of São Miguel manufacture cigarettes for local consumption. Tobacco production increased between 1984 and 1986 from 245 tons of dried tobacco to 534 tons.⁵ The production of this tobacco takes place on the large landed estates. Raw tobacco is also imported from the United States. The market for Azorean tobacco is limited to the islands themselves and to

² The correspondances from Costa to the minister are found in *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol II, 72, 156, 291, 354, 360, 367, 458, 460, 469, 470; Vol. III, 88, 168.

³ *Arquivo dos Açores*, Vol. XII, 505.

⁴ da Cunha et al, (1970), 34.

⁵ DREPA, *Situação Socioeconómica*, (1987), 32.

Madeira. In 1948, total tobacco exports from the Azores were 400 tons, of which 350 came from São Miguel and the other 50 from the other islands.⁶

Tobacco is also grown on small plots by men whose primary activity is related to subsistence production and periodic wage labor. These men take pride in their self-sufficiency and roll the strong course tobacco they grow in corn leaves. There is, however, no market mechanisms that would allow them to increase production and grow tobacco as a cash crop. This activity is monopolized by those who control the large landed estates on São Miguel.

⁶ M. Henderson, *Overseas Economic Survey*, (London, 1951).

APPENDIX D

FLEMISH CULTURAL INFLUENCE

The question of the Flemish influence in the Azores has provoked numerous controversies. Tourist guides, descriptive books and pamphlets on the Azores all point to the ubiquitous and picturesque windmills as a symbol of a Flemish heritage. Oliveira et al. in *Tecnologia Tradicional Portuguesa: Systemas de Moagem*, argue, however, that the first windmills did not appear in the Azores until more than a century after colonization. As evidence they cite the fact that Gaspar Frutuoso writing in the late sixteenth century did not mention windmills, something he would surely have done if they colored the landscape as they do today. According to Oliveira, the first windmills were probably not constructed in the Azores until the seventeenth century. A document found by Maria Vilhena, dated May 22, 1678, in the Arquivos de Rennes in France, that mentions the building of a windmill on Faial. In all probability it was the French and not the Flemish who were responsible for the introduction of windmills to the Azores.¹ Water, which pumped the *azenhas*, and not the wind, was the main source of energy during the early years of settlement.

Some historians even question whether the original settlers on Faial were Flemish. Portuguese migrants had apparently arrived on Faial from

¹ E. Oliveira et al. in *Tecnologia Tradicional Portuguesa: Systemas de Moagem*, (Lisbon, 1983).

Terceira a few years before the arrival of the Flemish and settled in the area of Cedros.² Thus, Cedros and not Flamengos, where the Flemish built their first settlement, was the first village on Faial to be settled. An alternative explanation then for the presence of Flemish settlers on Faial would be that after Dom Henrique had granted Faial to a Flemish captain, Jacob Hurtere, he recruited his own settlers for the island. Hurtere, then would not have to contend with the demands of settlers recruited by another captain.

The Flemish linguistic and cultural contribution to Azorean society disappeared after one generation. As the case of Cedros demonstrates, some of the Portuguese settlers who originally came to Terceira migrated to some of the uninhabited islands. Consequently, the Flemish "adventurers" who arrived in Faial married Portuguese women and their children were raised as Portuguese.³ Jos Dutra, himself, had married a Portuguese "lady" from Paco Real.⁴ Francis Rogers, a Harvard linguist who specializes on the Azores, argues that the current Azorean fascination with a northern European heritage may have emerged as an attempt to reinforce Azorean claims for independence following the 1974 revolution.⁵ In this way the connection with Flanders would reinforce the ethnic distinctiveness of Azoreans and reinforce demands not only for autonomy but also independence. To research this claim, Rogers went to Flamengos, the original Flemish community on Faial to see if there was any linguistic basis for this ethnic link. Rogers found no Germanic influence on the local dialect. He concluded that any disparities in regional intonation are the result of natural evolutionary

² Andrade (1988).

³ J. Silveira Pires, *Povamento do Faial: Ensaio Histórico*, (Horta 1968-69).

⁴ O. Goulart, "A Ilha Faial e a Cidade da Horta," *Boletim do Núcleo Cultural da Horta*, Vol. I, (1956).

⁵ Rogers, (1979).

changes in the language and not the product of diffusion.⁶ Silva Ribeiro writes that Flemish was not spoken on Faial after 1507 and for Flemish culture to have made an impact in the Azores successive Flemish migrations would have been required.⁷

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ S. Ribeiro, *Notas Açoreanas*, (1983), 51.

APPENDIX E POPULATION

Population by Parish, Pico: 1970-1981

Parish	1970	1981	%
Bandeiras	684	488	-28.7
Calheta do Nesquim	727	605	-16.8
Candelária	1399	1116	-20.2
Criação Velha	931	724	-22.5
Lajes	2147	1935	-9.9
Madalena	2143	2097	-2.1
Piedade	1789	988	-15.0
Prainha	972	708	-27.2
Ribeiras	1470	1235	-16.0
Ribeirinha	-----	532	-----
Santo Amaro	499	406	-18.6
Santo António	989	781	-21.0
São Caetano	914	659	-27.9
São João	699	533	-23.7
São Mateus	1053	893	-15.2
São Roque	1391	1295	-6.9

Source: Drepa 1984, *Análise Demográfica : 1970-1981*

Population by Parish, Faial: 1970-1981

Parish	1970	1981	%
Angústias (Horta)	2765	2651	-4.1
Capelo	605	481	-20.5
Castelo Branco	1491	1313	-11.9
Cedros	1769	1399	-20.9
Conceição (Horta)	1440	1292	-10.3
Feteira	1540	1395	-9.4
Flamengos	1560	1447	-7.2
Matriz (Horta)	2800	2814	+0.5
Pedro Miguel	857	693	-19.1
Praia do Almoxarife	706	747	+5.8
Praia do Norte	315	252	-20.0
Ribeirinha	614	510	-16.9
Salão	606	495	-18.3

Source: Drepa 1984, *Análise Demográfica : 1970-1981*

APPENDIX F
MATANÇA DO PORCO

No peculiarity of the Portuguese has been more criticized by foreigners than their habit of seclusion and the rare occurrence of a stranger being entertained at their houses. Such a thing as a dinner party, except in the case of men dining together, at some hotel or restaurant, in celebration of some event, is quite unknown.¹

Walker's note on Azorean social behavior in the late nineteenth century can still be used today to describe social interaction on the islands. One of the reasons for the insular household behavior, that Walker describes, is that governmental institutions have historically functioned as *Patronos* and this has eliminated the need for family members to enter into asymmetrical relationships in order to gain access to political circles to resolve power disputes, or to form social alliances to obtain the capital needed to out-migrate. Institutions such as *compadrado*, which could be used to extend one's kin network are not employed in the way they are in Latin America. Consequently, godparents are many times chosen from extended family members in the Azores.

When we first arrived in the Azores there were many villagers who were curious about us, especially those who were related to the man in whose

¹ Walker, (1886), 294.

house we were staying, but the villagers tended to leave us alone. If we had moved to a strange village where we had no connections, we would have probably interpreted their lack of hospitality as a sign that we were not welcome in the community. But since we knew people and they were very friendly and helpful when we encountered them, we were extremely confused as to why no one wished to entertain us in the evening. We had both spent a considerable amount of time doing field work in Latin America, and in that cultural context it is difficult to avoid invitations to dine. In fact, in Mexico I sometimes avoided being on the street or visiting people close to mealtime lest some *dona* or *señora* might cajole me into eating another meal.

About three weeks after our arrival in the village, we were invited to a *matança do porco*. Before we left the Azores, we had been to five *matanças*. But it is only in retrospect that I have started to view the Azorean *matança* as a dinner party, and then only with some reservations. The Azorean *matança* has the elasticity to function as a dinner party--most longterm visitors to the islands have been to at least one *matança*--and it is an opportune moment for the Azorean to play host--indeed, it is one of the few such opportunities. But despite the presence of the foreigner, in this case the anthropologists, the event is best understood as a family gathering.

The *matança* commences with the arrival of the pig at the area designated for the slaughter--an endeavor that usually requires some effort. Once the benches and boards are in place, the pig is placed on its side on the boards and a knife is pushed into its jugular vein. A tub is placed below the neck to collect the blood which is then taken to the kitchen where the women prepare the filling for *morcela* sausage. Once the pig is dead and all the blood is drained, the men begin to shave the animal. After the pig is shaved, it is turned on its back and a long slit is made along the underbelly and the

intestines, liver and the heart are removed. The pig is then taken to an enclosed area where it cannot be exposed to the moon and hung from its feet. Apparently, the dead pig's direct exposure to the light of the moon is thought to cause the meat to spoil, and thus affect the health of the household, so some care is taken to ensure that the doors and windows are properly sealed and shuttered. Unless there is a shortage of female labor and the males are needed to help clean the intestines, the hanging of the pig marks the end of male work in the *matança* festa for the day.

While all the male members participate in the actual killing of the pig, certain tasks are clearly specialized. The job of cutting open the pig is either relegated to the head of the household or assigned to someone else who has butchering expertise. The cutting specialist, if he does not live in the household, will return the next day to skin the pig and carve up the carcass. Shaving the pig is unspecialized activity and all the men participate. It takes about four men to actually kill the pig. The main function of this labor is to help hold the pig down and to occasionally turn it over. If there is no water hose, additional men may be required to fetch water. During the evening after the meal is over, neighbors and relatives may come to the *loja* where the pig is hung to comment on how well it has been cleaned.

Many of the village residents talk nostalgically about a time in the past when the *matanças* were large events and members of even non-kin households in the community would attend the dance that followed the killing of the pig. The pigs killed at that time were larger animals and a frequent comment of older people today when they view the slaughtered pig is "*Pequena!*" But despite the participation of some unrelated community residents at the *matança* in the years before the great exodus, the central group around which the *matança* revolved were the family members. Unlike the

festa do Espírito Santo where a large ox can feed over two hundred people, the parts of the pig that are festa food can feed twenty-five people at the most. For the *matança* weekend itself, the brain, liver, heart and *torresmos* (cracklings) are served to the family members who come to help kill and prepare the pig. Part of the reason that more labor is not mobilized for the *matança* is that it is not really needed, except for the preparation of the sausages, *linguiça* and *morcela*.

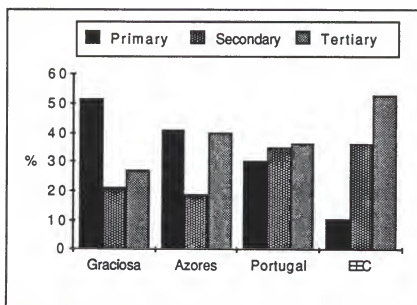
The actual preparations for the *matança* begin almost as soon as the young piglet is purchased, since the villagers generally know in which month they will slaughter their pig.² The preferred times are right before *Carnaval* or during the period between Easter and the *Esprito Santo*. We never witnessed a *matança* between *Carnaval* and Easter, for few if any are held during this period as this is a time of abstinence, and the *matança* is definitely a party. The *matança* is strategically placed in the ritual calendar even though much of the activity that it is scheduled around no longer takes place on a large scale.

To hold the *matança* at any other time than between the New Year and *Carnaval* or between Easter and the *Esprito Santo* would interfere with other events in the ritual cycle. The *matança* could quite possibly be held in the summer time as today in Faial almost all the houses have freezers. In the past, it was not pragmatic to have a *matança* during the summers as it was too hot and there would be a chance that the meat would spoil before it could be salted. Having a *matança*, however, was never a spontaneous or impulsive event, for when we were invited to one, we were usually informed at least a month ahead of time as to when the pig killing would be held.

² Pina-Cabral (1986), noted this same social preparation in northern Portugal.

APPENDIX G THE INCORPORATION OF THE ISLAND SYSTEM

The following description of the individual islands is intended to show the impact of EEC integration on the island system as a whole. Since developmental capital is impacting on the islands differentially, the more developed islands provide an indication as to the future of the Azores as a whole.



EEC Labor Distribution

Source: DREPA, *Plano De Médio Prazo, 1983-1987*, 37.

The above figure demarcates the various labor allocations within the EEC. Graciosa represents an underdeveloped region while the EEC region as a

whole represents the future pattern of labor distribution in the European community. I begin with the smallest island in terms of population and ends with the largest.

Corvo

Although the numbers of migrants are much higher for the other islands, the Azores' smallest island (17.45 square kilometers) has probably undergone the most significant changes as a consequence of out-migration. Corvo which in 1960 had 669 residents, in 1988 had less than 400. Most migrants from Corvo go to the United States while a smaller percentage emigrate to Canada.

Today, the residents of Corvo are collectively said to be the richest of all the islanders. Sixty-one percent of Corvo's labor force is involved in agricultural activity.¹ Out-migration has increased the amount of land available for cattle grazing, and the income earned from this pursuit as well as remittances has allowed the islanders to prosper.

It is difficult to visit Corvo, for SATA, the Azorean airline, has no scheduled flights there. A military plane which occasionally takes passengers goes to Corvo if the weather permits and visitors to the island must remain there until the weather allows their departure. There are stories of people waiting a month to leave.

Flores

Flores is the Portuguese word for flower and this twin island of Corvo was named because of its botanical splendor. The most westward of the Azorean islands, Flores provided the initial demarcation point between Spain and Portugal as to how the lands in the New World were to be divided. All

¹ DREPA, *População e Emprego*, (1984).

lands east of 100 leagues west of the Azores would belong to Portugal, while those west of this meridian would belong to Spain. This division was modified in 1494 and the revision resulted in the Treaty of Tordesillas, which used the Cape Verdian islands as a guide line. Ships that were returning from the New World would, if they followed the gulf stream and the prevailing westerlies, sight Flores and stop over briefly on the island. Tired sailors were not the only visitors to Flores as pirates also found it a convenient locale to reprovision. Flores' small villages were thus sacked on a number of occasions by these intrusive visitors. Today, Flores has once again been invaded as the French military maintains a very secret base on the island.

Flores has a total area of 143 square kilometers and population density varies between 30 and 132 individuals per square kilometer. The population of Flores today is a little over 5000 in contrast to a 1950 resident population of 7,812. In 1950, the economically active population of Flores was 2,739 and 81% of these workers were involved in agricultural activity. In 1981, the economically active population was 1,445 of whom 49.3% were involved in agricultural activity. The loss in agricultural labor can in part be related to outmigration, but the decline in primary sector activity also reflects another economic trend--the movement of labor from the primary to the tertiary sector. In 1950, 11% of the population was in the service sector, by 1981 labor involvement in the tertiary sector had increased to 38.2%.² On both, Corvo and Flores, as on the other Azorean islands, the loss of agricultural labor has contributed to a shift in agricultural strategy. Much of Flores agricultural land has been turned over to pasturage.

² Ibid.

Graciosa

The manner in which EEC capital affects labor distribution on the individual islands is to a large extent related to the political divisions. The advantages of serving as an administrative seat are obvious when one examines the growth rates of the tertiary sector on the islands where political power is concentrated. In contrast, Graciosa, as is the case for all of the satellite islands except for Santa Maria, still has over 50% of its active labor force in the primary sector. While labor involvement in the tertiary sector has gone from 16% in 1970 to 27% in 1981, the island lags well behind the majority of the other Azorean islands.³ The satellite islands also lack many of the basic services that are available on the more developed islands. Although the government is actively promoting the tourist industry, Graciosa has no tourist office or other facilities to attract tourists.

Graciosa, as is also the case for Pico, differs from the rest of the islands, in that the majority of the population is fairly old. Graciosa also has the highest rate of illiteracy of all the Azorean islands (22.6%) at 31.7%.⁴

Santa Maria

The United States government built an airstrip, airport and a support infrastructure on Santa Maria during the second World War. Though these facilities were abandoned in the 1950s when the U. S. military presence moved to Terciera, Azorean economic developers have tentative plans to use the buildings to house industry. At present, there are a number of obstacles that impede industrial development on Santa Maria. The biggest impediment perhaps is that no investors have emerged to take advantage of

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

the government's offering to open factories in the *zona franca* (tax free zone). A related problem is that there are no real resources for industry to take advantage of on Santa Maria. The economically active population numbers 2,137 of whom 1,281 are in the service sector. In the primary sector there are 557 individuals and the secondary sector has 299, of whom 223 are involved in construction activity. Many of the peasants in the primary sector would probably not be interested in wage employment as a large majority of the agricultural workers are retirees. Of the remainder of the workers in the secondary sector, 26 work in utility related areas (gas, electricity and water), 30 are involved in the wood and furniture making business and the other 20 are involved in diverse aspects of petty commodity production. Industry would probably have a difficult time attracting any of these workers and the local government would probably, for practical reasons, prefer that the few workers in the secondary sector not switch occupations.

In terms of a labor force, the government has three options: the first and the most difficult would be to divert labor from the tertiary sector to manufacturing activity. This would be an unpopular move as the service sector workers are happy in their jobs. Government officials concede that it will be extremely hard to induce office workers to become factory workers. The second option would be to use the untapped female labor force and this is something that the regional government is seriously entertaining. Another option is to import workers from Lisbon. In terms of an eventual solution, the government seems to ideally prefer the second option, but officials realistically believe that the latter is the more practical alternative.

Santa Maria is the government's test case. It was chosen to serve as a prototype for future development primarily because of its infrastructural base.

In a few years the government hopes to extend this type of development to the other islands.

São Jorge

São Jorge is renowned for its cheeses which are exported to Azorean enclaves in North America. Some of the first cheese industries started on São Jorge, were established in the nineteenth century by return migrants from America. The São Jorge cheese industry will probably not survive EEC integration. While the famous cheeses will still be available for domestic and national consumption, EEC countries such as France and Italy will hold future monopolies on cheese exports from the European community.

São Jorge has a resident population of approximately 13,000, of whom over 50% are involved in agricultural activity. Economically, the island, more so than the other islands, is totally dependent on cattle raising. In recent years, exports of cattle and cheese have increased significantly from São Jorge. The island exports about 1000 tons of cheese a year of which about 50% is sent to Lisbon.⁵ São Jorge will be the island to suffer most as a result of the EEC policies.

Pico

Pico is referred to some as the island of tears and to the others as the mysterious island. The adjective mysterious is derived from the caldeira dotted landscape and the lava fences which surround the agricultural plots, which together give the island a surrealistic ambiance. The tears refer to those who have left to seek their economic livelihood elsewhere. Pico has suffered demographically from outmigration to North America, but there has

⁵ Drepa, *São Jorge Caracterização*, 1985.

been an additional loss of people as many Picoense have moved to Faial to take up jobs vacated by Faial residents who have also migrated.

Pico today has a resident population of just over 17,000 compared to a 1950 population of over 25,000. Almost 50% of the population is involved in agricultural activity. Pico was historically known for its wines which were at one time exported to the plantation economies in the Americas as well as to the tables of Russian royalty. A series of blights killed the wine industry in the nineteenth century, and today the wines of Pico are mostly exported to neighboring Faial.

Faial

Faial was erroneously named after the bush plant *faia* which was common to southern Europe at the time of the discoveries. Faial with a total land mass of 173 square kilometers, is much smaller than Pico (447 Km²) and São Jorge (246 Km²), but its natural harbor at Horta has given the island an economic advantage over the other two nearby islands. Because of the harbor and the availability of employment in shipping related activity, Faial's labor situation in 1950 differed markedly from Pico and São Jorge as well. Where in 1950, the other two islands had approximately 80% of the active labor force involved in agricultural production, Faial had only 57%.⁶ Today, the number involved in agricultural activity has decreased to under 25% and those involved in the service sector has increased from 28% in 1950 to almost 60% currently.

In 1988, Faial had slightly more than 17,000 inhabitants and the changes the island is currently going through are representative of the larger transformation the island system as a whole will go through in the next

⁶ Drepa, *População e Emprego*, (1984)

decade. Faial receives the EEC development money (the acronym is FEDER) aimed for the islands under its jurisdiction. Much of the capital Faial receives is used to create administrative jobs and build up the infrastructure on the island itself. Consequently, the changes that are affecting the dominant islands such as Faial have yet to impact on the satellite islands such as Pico to any great extent. Faial's labor distribution thus best represents the overall economic strategy for the region.

The future objectives of EEC integration are to divert Azorean labor from the primary sector to either the secondary or tertiary sectors. In order to maintain productive capacity in the agricultural sector, the traditional land divisions where a family may hold a number of segmented plots of land are being rearranged so a family landholdings will be integrated into one complete plot. This will make the agricultural sector more efficient as machines will gradually replace the labor force that is presently devoted to agricultural production. There are obvious problems to this developmental strategy. There is local resistance to the whole plan as people are reluctant to trade lands that they already own for other land simply so that they may have unified holdings. Also, much of the land in the Azores is not suited to mechanized agriculture.

Terceira

The island of Terceira is where the American Naval Base is located. Terceira has two principal cities, Praia da Vitoria, where the base is situated, and Angra do Heroísmo, a picturesque city that was partially destroyed by the 1981 earthquake. The two cities are a study in contrasts. The impact of the American base on Praia da Vitoria is very visible. American money is negotiable currency and taxi drivers calculate their fares in dollars. Prostitutes

live in a shantytown overlooking the base and there is considerable crime in Praia da Vitoria. Although the crime rate in Praia is not high when compared with other parts of the world, for the Azores it is phenomenal as many of the islands have no crime at all.

Terceira thus serves as an example of the types of changes that may result as a consequence of planned development. Because of the chronic shortage of labor on the islands, the Americans have been forced to contract migrant labor to build and maintain the infrastructure around the base. The migrants are typically single men who are easily bored because of the lack of diversions on the island.

Because of all the small developmental projects on the island (the American government has provided capital as disaster relief for Angra which also provides many jobs), Terceira has the highest concentration of labor (28.2%) in the secondary sector of all the islands. The number of agricultural workers in the primary sector (21.3%) is the lowest for the Azores (the regional average is 31.5%).⁷

The base of Lajes also serves as a way station for Azorean travelers and migrants on their way to and from North America. In the city, merchants sell small statutes of the local patron saints which migrants purchase to take with them to North America.

São Miguel

São Miguel is the largest island in the archipelago and it is also the center of economic and political power. São Miguel, in contrast to the other Azorean islands, except for the area near the American base on Terceira, exhibits the symptoms of underdevelopment usually associated with Third

⁷ Ibid.

World countries. While São Miguel's social and economic problems are not as extreme as those of Latin American countries, there is visible poverty. The causal agents responsible for this poverty are also apparent. Much of the land that is devoted to cashcropping is controlled by a few families. The land tenure system of the Azores can be generally described as minifundia but on São Miguel the latifundia while not the predominant form of land tenure in terms of territory, monopolizes the few profitable sectors of the economy.

Fifty-four percent of the Azorean population resides on São Miguel and the island has a population density that ranges between 174 to 466 inhabitants per square kilometer. Despite high levels of outmigration over the last forty years the island still has the highest population density in the region (the regional average is 104 to 265 persons per square kilometer). The movement of labor from the primary sector to the service sector on São Miguel follows the pattern already discussed for the other islands.

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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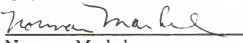
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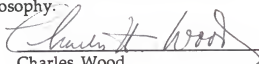
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